

Austria	Swiss Franc	Ricardo Palomino	Ratio
Bahrain	Dh10.7000	Iraqi Dinar	Ratio
Belgium	BP950	Italy	L2000 Poland
Cyprus	CS10.500	Jordan	JY1 Portugal
Denmark	DK10.000	Kuwait	KWD1000 Spain
Egypt	EG13.500	Kuwait	KWD1000 Spain
Finland	FL10.000	Liberia	FL10000 Singapore
France	FF17.250	Latvia	LP1000 Spain
Greece	GR10.000	Lithuania	LT1000 Spain
Holland	DN10.000	Morocco	MD1000 Spain
Hungary	HF1000	Namibia	NF1.25 Thailand
Iceland	IK1000	Niger	ND1000 Spain
India	INR1000	Nigeria	NGN1000 Spain
Indonesia	IDR1000	Poland	PL1000 Spain

EUROPE'S BUSINESS NEWSPAPER

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FRANCE

Rethink in prospect on
immigration curbs

Page 38

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World News

Business Summary

Baker to visit Saudi Arabia to boost drive against Iraq

James Baker, US Secretary of State, is to visit Saudi Arabia this week as part of a renewed US attempt to bolster the coalition against Iraq. The administration also sees signs of drift in the diplomatic drive against Baghdad and uncertainty produced by the shuttle diplomacy of Yevgeny Primakov, the Soviet special envoy, who unexpectedly met Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi president, in Baghdad again late last night after talks earlier in the day. Page 22

NZ Conservatives win
Jim Bolger, New Zealand's Conservative prime minister-elect, promised a return to "common sense policies" after a landslide general election victory ended six years of economic and social reform by the outgoing Labour Party. Page 22

Hungary fuel protest
Hungarian government and taxi and truck drivers protesting against a drastic petrol price rise drew back from a clash which has paralysed Hungary since Thursday after the government indicated a willingness to compromise on the average 65 per cent rise in fuel prices. Page 22

Troops to Moldavia
Soviet Interior Ministry troops were sent to Moldavia (Moldova) to prevent bloodshed between ethnic Romanians and a Turk minority seeking its own state. Page 2

Soviets' Interpol role
Soviet membership of Interpol played a crucial role in arrests at the centre of a multi-million D-Mark scandal surrounding the former east German communist party (PDS). Page 2

Israel accepts report
Israel's cabinet endorsed a report saying police were justified in opening fire at Arabs on Jerusalem's Temple Mount, but ministers acknowledged it was unlikely to deflect international criticism. Page 3

Ivory Coast votes
Voters in the Ivory Coast went to the polls amid widespread allegations of electoral malpractice in the first multi-party presidential elections since independence in 1960. Page 3

Shultz loses again
Political rout of Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was almost complete after local elections in the country's four provinces. Page 5

Mandela in Diet
Nelson Mandela, deputy leader of the African National Congress, will now have to address the Japanese Diet, the highlight of a six-day visit. Page 5

Bush support drops
US President George Bush is rapidly losing public support for his handling of the Gulf crisis, with 61 per cent approving now against 77 per cent in early August, according to the Gallup organisation.

Trabant's time is up
The smoke-belching, two-stroke Trabant car, stinking symbol of the industrial backwardness of the extinct East Germany, will no longer be permitted to pollute a united Germany. Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer said the cars will have to pass emission tests from January.

Paley dies
William Paley, one of the most important influences on US broadcasting and the man who built the CBS network into a powerful communications empire, died at his Manhattan home, aged 89. Page 2

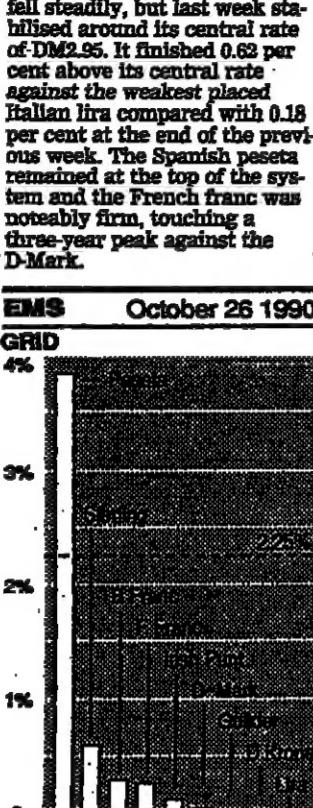
Lack of cash may halt US savings and loan rescue

THE US government's rescue of the savings and loan industry, may come to a halt soon because Congress adjourned without approving needed funds. Page 22

PAN AM's chairman
Mr Tom Flaske, last night rejected an American Airlines offer to purchase its US London route for \$500m. Page 23

EUROPEAN Monetary System:
Sterling's third week as a full EMS member was the quietest so far. After entering on a wave of euphoria the pound fell steadily, but last week stabilised around its central rate of DM2.95. It finished 0.63 per cent above its central rate - against the weakest placed Italian lira compared with 0.18 per cent at the end of the previous week. The Spanish peseta remained at the top of the system and the French franc was notably firm, touching a three-year peak against the D-Mark.

EMS October 26 1990 GRID



The chart shows the member currencies of the exchange rate mechanism measured against the weakest currency in the EMS's narrow 2.25 per cent fluctuation band. In practice, currencies in the EMS narrow band cannot rise more than 2.25 per cent from the weakest currency in that part of the system. Sterling and the Spanish peseta operate with 6 per cent fluctuation bands. Currencies, Page 33

TRIUMPH, east German transport body in charge of privatisation, says about 500 of the country's state-owned companies should be privatised by the end of this year. Page 2

ENIMONT, troubled Italian chemicals joint venture, has drawn one step closer to a showdown with the resignation of seven of its 12 board members. Page 23

IATA, International Air Transport Association, is warning that the Middle East crisis is speeding up the two-year-old trend in declining airline profitability. Page 6

NEC and Fujitsu, Japan's leading computer and telecommunications equipment makers, both had double-digit pre-tax profit increases. Page 23

AMSTRAD, UK electronics group, will stop manufacturing in Britain if the EC proceeds with a directive aimed at preventing software piracy, says the chairman, Mr Alan Sugar. Page 22

FT-SE Eurotrack 100
The FT-SE Eurotrack 100 stock market index, developed by the Financial Times and the International Stock Exchange, today begins full operation. Eurotrack offers the first real-time index of European shares, based on the prices of 100 leading stocks. The index is updated minute by minute from prices quoted on Sean International, the exchange's international marketplace.

FT SURVEYS THIS WEEK

When he looks back over the past 10 years, Lech Wałęsa (left) likes to say that he rarely put a foot wrong, a confidence born during his time of struggle. Now he faces a quite different test in the battle for Poland's presidency. Page 38

Kohl urges increased role for European parliament

By David Marsh in Bonn

CHANCELLOR Helmut Kohl of Germany is urging increased powers for the European parliament as a condition for further transfer of governmental decision-making to the European Community.

Mr Kohl's toughly-worded call for a greater role for the Strasbourg parliament in time for the next European elections in summer 1994, is made in a specially-written article for the Financial Times Survey of Europe.

Mr Kohl names "monetary stability, healthy public finances and an independent future European central banking system" as conditions for European monetary union

tenance further dilution of national powers and prerogatives unless the parliament is given more control over Community decision-making.

"Our democratic principles will allow the transfer to the Community of further rights of national parliaments and governments only if, as a counter-weight, distinct parliamentary controls are guaranteed at a European level."

Mr Kohl names "monetary stability, healthy public finances and an independent future European central banking system" as conditions for European monetary union

GERMANY SURVEY

A special FT survey, published as a separate section in today's paper, examines the unification that has fascinated the world, is a triumph for Chancellor Kohl, and is destined to reshape tomorrow's Europe.



(Emu). One of his advisers said that the Chancellor is setting down these principles partly to "test" the resolve of other Community partners to proceed towards Emu.

Mr Kohl has now advanced January 1 1994 as the starting date for the so far undefined "Stage Two" of the move towards a common European currency and central bank.

This is a compromise between the wish of Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the foreign minister, to start "Stage Two" on January 1 1993, and the desire of the Bundesbank to avoid any constrictions.

In spite of growing belief abroad that the chancellor is softening Germany's commitment to EMU, the adviser said: "Those people who say this is all just rhetoric will be in for a surprise."

In his article, the chancellor says that the EC needs to be strengthened internally to aid co-operation and association with non-Community mem-

bers, both in eastern Europe and in Scandinavia.

He claims, however, that rapid entry of more countries into the Community could be "fatal", saying that this would make the EC no more than "an elevated free trade zone".

Stressing his overriding aim of wider political union in Europe, Mr Kohl writes: "The whole point of the political unification of Europe must restrict accession to the Community, for the foreseeable future, to those countries which are prepared and able to create the European Union without reservations."

EC moves towards fuller union without UK support

By David Buchan and John Wyles in Rome

THE European Community yesterday made unexpected progress towards political and monetary union, leaving Britain trailing more conspicuously than ever in its wake.

The UK's 11 Community partners for the first time committed themselves to a January 1 1994 starting date for the second phase of economic and monetary union (Emu), that would include the creation of a European central bank, to be followed within three years by a decision on the launch of a single European currency.

But in a strong criticism of the summit, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British prime minister, accused EC leaders of living in "cloud cuckoo land" over fixing 1994 for the start of the second stage of Emu, without first having decided its substance. "That is putting the cart before the horse," she said in a BBC radio interview. She also suggested that the way business at the summit had been conducted was "not competent" and "a mess".

Confronting the international agenda at their first summit since the onset of the Gulf crisis, EC leaders sought to present a front both on the need for Iraq withdrawal from Kuwait and against attempts by President Saddam Hussein to use the hostage to divide the international community.

It was, however, the surprise achievement of the Italian presidency of the EC on the monetary union front which created the air of tangible satisfaction in the delegations except the British. Mr Jacques Delors, the European Commission president, said that summit had created "a negotiating brief" for December's inter-governmental conference (IGC) on monetary union. Senior Italian monetary officials went further in suggesting that the bulk of the IGC's most important tasks had been accomplished.

Mrs Thatcher refused to underwrite this approach, seeking on both the monetary and political union issues to leave all matters of substance

for the two IGC's opening in Rome in December. It was pre-mature, she said, to decide the timing of phase two of Emu before its contents had been formally negotiated in the December IGC.

The British reserve in the final summit communiqué made clear its wish to negotiate on the basis that its plan

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for the two IGC's opening in Rome in December. It was pre-mature, she said

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Lufthansa hits at BA as Berlin flights start

By Andrew Fisher in Berlin

MR HEINZ BURNAU, chief executive of Lufthansa, the German national airline, yesterday charged British Airways with not being serious over its professed interest in Interflug, the former East German carrier.

Speaking before Lufthansa's first scheduled flight to Berlin for 45 years, he questioned BA's attitude concerning Interflug's future.

He expressed confidence that Lufthansa would succeed in its attempts to take over Interflug and a large portion of its 3,500 employees.

"If anyone can do it, we can," he said.

Lufthansa withdrew its application to the Federal Cartel Office to buy 26 per cent of Interflug this month and is now looking to the Bonn government (the main shareholders of both airlines after unification) to agree to a joint solution.

Mr Buhnaus said BA's interest in Interflug was "not serious." He added: "Playing around with people in this situation in Germany was not, I think, a fair and proper attitude."

Mr Jürgen Weber, Lufthansa's deputy chief executive, said he thought BA's interest was in staying in the German market.

"They are looking for means to do this," he said. "Interflug is one."

Interflug has an ageing fleet of Soviet aircraft and three modern Airbuses. Some 500 of its technical staff have already been taken on by Lufthansa at the east Berlin airport of Schonefeld.

The 8 a.m. Lufthansa flight from Cologne to Tegel airport in west Berlin was given a low-key champagne send-off. A trumpet and barrel organ duo playing such un-German tunes as "Yes, we have bananas" and "Roll up the barrels!"

After arriving on time in Berlin, it was met by the brass bands of west Berlin's customs officers.

Mr Buhnaus said Lufthansa was returning to the city where it had been founded in 1926.

Treuhand chief sees progress in privatisation

By David Goodhart in Bonn

ABOUT 500 of east Germany's 8,000 state-owned companies should be privatised by the end of this year and a further 1,500 by the end of next year, according to Mr Detlev Rohwedder, chief executive of the Treuhand, the trust body in charge of privatisation.

Greatest foreign interest is coming from France, said Mr Rohwedder. But he also pointed to growing Japanese interest and indicated that 50 more US companies or banks

should be invited to invest in east Germany dependent on such cover.

Mr Knut Fischer, vice-president of the US-German Trade Association, struck a more cautious note last week, saying that US investors remained reluctant to invest in east Germany because of lack of clarity over property ownership and confusion in the new administrative structures.

Mr Rohwedder wants to speed up privatisation but insists the Treuhand oversee restructuring of the majority of companies which can be saved but which have no immediate buyer. The Treuhand envisages borrowing of up to DM100bn (£330m) over the next 18 months to pay for this restructuring.

Some members of his own executive and the Economics Ministry in Bonn have argued that the Treuhand should concentrate almost exclusively on privatisation and that private companies should look after the restructuring.

The Bonn Government is trying to make east German takeovers more attractive by agreeing to pay old debts and cover the cost of repairing environmental damage. Volkswagen, Daimler-Benz, and BASF have all made takeovers in east Germany despite the restructuring.

Mr Kohl came under increased pressure at the weekend to raise taxes after the December 2 general elections to meet the costs of German unification, writes David Marsh.

Mr Kurt Biedenkopf, the new Christian Democrat prime minister of the state of Saxony, has called for a special levy on higher wage earners to finance building up the east German economy.

Mr Biedenkopf, a long-standing rival of Mr Kohl within the governing party, suggested that this higher taxation could be introduced for those earning more than DM4,000 a month.

Both Mr Biedenkopf and Mr Lothar Späth, premier of Baden-Württemberg, said higher petrol taxes were also needed to provide money for the badly run down east German road network.

Kentucky loses stomach for politics

Lionel Barber finds the budget deal is giving voters a queasy feeling

ONE EVENING last week Mrs Lois Mathis picked up her pencil and wrote to President Bush. "Dear Mr Bush," the six-page letter began, "I am so disappointed with you and Congress that I want to puke."

This is not the kind of language one expects from a Southern Baptist, nor a registered Republican of 15 years standing. But Mrs Mathis had just seen a TV programme about 33 congressmen going on a Caribbean jaunt with tax lobbyists, and that got her thinking about the budget.

A spunky blonde who is married with two children, Mrs Mathis earns \$18,000 a year as an assembly line worker at Tecumseh Products, an air-conditioning manufacturer based in Ferguson, an old railroad town in southern Kentucky.

The people here are hard-working, patriotic and solid Republicans. The streets are spotless; the white-fenced gardens are neatly trimmed; and yellow ribbons dangle from the trees in memory of the men and women in Saudi Arabia.

Last Friday, as the House and Senate edged towards a vote on the final \$500m, five-year deficit reduction package, the mood was more fearful than resentful. How would the deal affect living standards in a community already threatened by recession?

Some 700 people - half the workforce - have been laid off at the Ferguson plant since the start of the year; in the coal mining towns to the east, several hundred more workers have lost their jobs in the past fortnight.

"We've been in a recession for the past six months," says Mr Steve Vinson,

Tecumseh's general manager.

Mrs Mathis' husband is a welder who earns around \$13,000 a year. Together they worry about the new 5 cents a gallon petrol tax. "We've got a '79 T-bird and a '73 pick-up," she says, "this gas tax is ridiculous. I can't even get 40 hours work here



to pay my bills. None of the Republicans is for working people."

Mr James Harper, 58, who spent 20 years in the US army before retiring in 1983, agrees: "It's a lousy deal. They're taxing the working man, and the rich are getting off scot-free."

Mr Vinson, 40, who earns around \$30,000 a year, supports the "fairness" argument put forward by the Democratic Party. The issue is not whether to raise taxes to cut the deficit, but who should pay those new taxes. "If you're making a million," he says, "how much complaining can you do?"

But as Mr Vinson points out, with a shrug of his burly shoulders, the middle class will always bear the brunt because they are the majority of the working population in the US. "You're not going to raise the money by just taxing millionaires."

Thus, Mr Vinson is still leaning toward voting for Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican running for re-election; elsewhere party ties going back decades seem unlikely to turn into defections to the Democrats. More likely, some simply will not vote.

Further south, near Cumberland Gap, where Daniel Boone laid his trail from the Appalachians more than 300 years ago, a

similar mood of resignation prevails. This is one of the poorest counties in the US: the unemployment rate is usually near 20 per cent, and the population is almost exclusively white.

Mr Dwayne King is co-owner of a short-line railroad which once trucked coal and now carries tourists through some of the most picturesque scenery in the South. He offers a different perspective on the budget deal.

Three weeks ago, when the federal government shut down temporarily because of Congress's inability to pass a budget, Mr King was one of the hardest hit. His private railroad runs through land now owned by the National Park Service. "It cost us a week's earnings and the public blamed us," says Mr King.

There is a further irony. More than 15 years ago, Congress, recognising the decline of the coal industry, approved a \$100m project to preserve the area as parkland and "living history."

Because of the budget squeeze, barely 30 per cent of the work is complete; private capital remains shy because the tourist numbers are not quite high enough. Mr King ought to be angry; instead, he remains stoic - aware, perhaps, of his dependence on Congress for future funding. Speaking of Mr Hal Rogers, the local Republican Congressman who sits on the House appropriations committee, Mr King says: "You can't put into words how much he matters."

Like other Kentuckians, Mr King will grouse about the quality of some in Congress; and about the constant electioneering and the money involved. (The last governor's race cost \$15m, an absurd amount for a state with only 3.7m people).

But nobody - not even Mrs Mathis - is talking about marching on Washington. Mr King speaks for many when he says: "Don't be negative about something unless you have got something better."

Soviet troops sent to Moldavia

By Leyla Boulton
in Moscow

SOVIET Interior Ministry troops were sent to Moldavia (Moldova) yesterday to prevent bloodshed between ethnic Romanians and a Turkic minority that wants its own state.

In Bucharest, Romanian demonstrators proclaimed solidarity with ethnic Romanians in the Soviet Union, which annexed Moldavian territory in 1939.

Up to 50,000 "peace-keeping volunteers" from the Moldovan Popular Front, some carrying clubs and knives, have surrounded southern districts inhabited by Christian Turks, known as Gagauz, who want to be independent from Moldavia but not from Moscow.

The parliament of Moldavia, which wants independence from Moscow, declared a state of emergency on Friday in districts inhabited by the 150,000 Gagauz when they tried to hold their own elections.

Georgia, another independence-minded republic, went to the polls yesterday for its first multi-party parliament in 70 years.

An opposition politician who urged voters to boycott the poll was shot in the shoulder on Friday after gunmen strafed the apartment of another pro-independence politician.

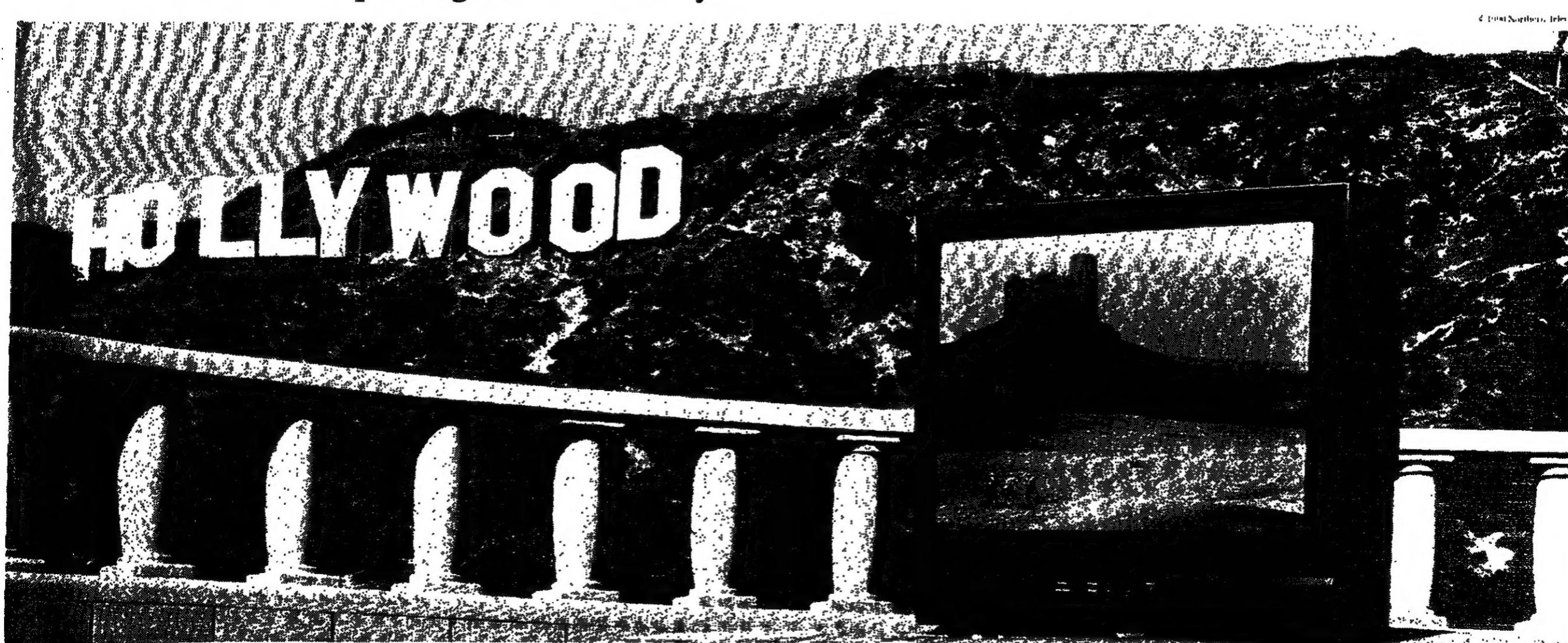
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Martin Dickson

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TECHNOLOGY THE WORLD CALLS ON.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Local assembly polls round off Bhutto defeat

By Roger Matthews in Islamabad

THE POLITICAL route of Ms Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was almost complete yesterday, following polling for local assemblies in the country's four provinces.

In a repeat of last Wednesday's general election result, the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) scored an overwhelming victory in Punjab, winning well over 200 of the 30 seats at stake, while the PPP appeared to have lost control of Sind, Ms Bhutto's home province, robbing her of a power base from which eventually to launch a comeback.

In contrast to the general election, voting for the provincial assemblies was marked by violence, with 23 people reported dead in clashes between rival supporters and another 57 injured, some seriously.

Ms Bhutto's aides claimed last night they now had a better understanding of how the general election results had been "rigged" and pledged that the struggle to expose alleged irregularities would be relentless. "If they are allowed to get away with it this time, there will never again be a fair election in Pakistan," one said.

Ivory Coast votes amid malpractice allegations

By Julian Ozanne in Abidjan

VOTERS in the Ivory Coast went to the polls yesterday, amid widespread allegations of electoral malpractice in the first multi-party presidential elections since independence in 1960.

At several polling stations in the capital, Abidjan, angry opposition supporters, alleging blatant government cheating, smashed ballot boxes, ripped up voting slips, and clashed with police.

The elections, taking place in an atmosphere of political tension, mark the single most important test of the possibility of political transformation for the rest of Africa, where democratic movements are beginning to stir.

After three decades of one-man, one-party rule, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, Africa's longest-ruling president, is being opposed by Mr Laurent Gbagbo, a historian and a leader of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI).

At Yopougon, a suburb of

Abidjan, the military had been stopped in at least 12 polling stations by midday because computer electoral lists prepared by the Government were blank.

Opposition officials alleged that members of the ruling PDCI party had toured polling stations, telling their supporters to carry away Mr Gbagbo's pink voting papers. Last night, reports also indicated disruptions at polling stations in the countryside.

While some of the problems reflected the difficulty of organising a multi-party election in Africa, many voters interpreted any technical hitch as evidence of rigging by the ruling party.

Throughout the 10-day electoral campaign, Mr Gbagbo has claimed that the ruling party would deny him a fair showing. In the last uncontested presidential election in 1985, Mr Houphouët-Boigny won 100 per cent of the vote.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Israel accepts findings of Old City killings inquiry

THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT yesterday formally accepted the findings of an official inquiry into the killing by police of at least 19 Palestinians in Jerusalem's Old City earlier this month, writes Hugh Carnegy in Jerusalem. Palestinians said the conclusions ignored evidence that excessive live fire was used. Meanwhile, access to Israel from the occupied territories was re-opened.

Iraqi tanker boarded

An Iraqi tanker in the Arabian sea was boarded by US marines yesterday after it ignored warning shots and passes by US fighter jets. Reuters reports from Dhahran. The US navy said the tanker was allowed to proceed after no prohibited cargo was found on board. The ship was heading for Iraq.

Nakasone to meet Saddam

Former Japanese premier Yasuhiro Nakasone will meet Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in Baghdad this week, in a bid to win the release of some of the 342 Japanese nationals detained there, writes Ian Rodger in Tokyo. The Japanese government said he would not be going as a government envoy. Over 300 French hostages held in Kuwait and Iraq are due to return to Paris late this afternoon, after a week of uncertainty over their release, George Graham adds from Paris.

German troops clash

The German Government is running into growing opposition to its plan for a constitutional change to allow deployment of German troops outside the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation area, writes David Marsh in Bonn. Mr Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the opposition Social Democrats, said he would back such a change, which needs a two-thirds majority, only if it is linked to a ban on German arms exports.

Nicaragua jobs pact

Nicaragua's government has reached a six-month no-strike pact with the powerful National Workers' Front, writes Tim Coone in San Salvador. In return, state-sector redundancy plans have been suspended, and a rapid phase-out pledged of the old cordoba, which still circulates alongside the new gold cordoba, pegged to the US dollar.

Oslo government near collapse

Norway's government last night seemed almost certain to collapse as the tiny Centre party signalled its intention to withdraw from coalition with the Conservatives and Christian Peoples' Party over links with the EC, writes Karen Fossel in Oslo.

WORLD ECONOMIC INDICATORS

	RETAIL PRICES (1985=100)			
	% change over			
	Sep.'90	Aug.'90	Jul.'90	Sep.'89
US	123.4	122.3	121.2	116.2
Japan	109.0	108.1	107.9	106.0
W.Germany	107.5	107.1	106.8	104.4
UK	138.7	135.4	134.0	123.3
Belgium	112.4	111.3	110.7	106.4
Netherlands	104.8	103.9	103.5	102.0
France	117.0	116.3	116.0	113.0

Temple-site tinder box for Indian conflagration

A symbol of peace could convulse a tradition of religions living side by side, David Housego writes

AYODHYA in Indian legend is the symbol of peace and prosperity, a northern Indian capital also the birthplace of Lord Ram, the Hindu god. Today, Ayodhya is identified with militant Hindu nationalism and the prospect of a confrontation between Hindus and Moslems that threatens to convulse India's secular tradition of the two communities living side by side.

Many political analysts remain astonished by the size of the IDA victory and particularly by the sharp increase in voter turnout in individual constituencies. This appeared to run counter both to anecdotal evidence and to the popular enthusiasm generated among voters by Ms Bhutto during her final rallies. International observers said they had not seen evidence of widespread or organised voting irregularities.

Leaders of the IDA, backed by the military and other key elements of the establishment, were jubilant yesterday at their continuing electoral success. They said the country was more united now than at any time since independence and there was no longer any doubt about who had the moral and legal right to govern Pakistan.

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Ground plan of proposed Hindu temple at Ayodhya



OVER 60,000 Hindu militants have been arrested in Uttar Pradesh, North India, as tension mounted over the weekend ahead of tomorrow's ceremonies to mark the start of construction of the planned Hindu temple at Ayodhya, David Housego reports.

Ayodhya, and the nearby town of Faizabad, have been placed under indefinite curfew to prevent militants gathering there in advance of the ceremonies.

All roads to Ayodhya have been closed and many trains across North India cancelled. Parts of the eastern state of Bihar and Rajasthan are also reported tense, with the army called in to reinforce paramilitary forces.

and tenser an issue this is. The three-domed mosque lies at the top of the hill. You pass through heavy security barriers to reach the minbar, the holiest point of the mosque. Hindu militants believe it was on this very spot Lord Ram was born, and here they want to place the "garba-griha" (the sacred centre) of the new temple. Many more senior party leaders are expected to court arrest by tomorrow, thus seeking political martyrdom and preparing for a nationwide electoral campaign on the themes of Hindu revivalism.

Ten years ago, the fundamentalists had only a small following. In last year's general election, the BJP increased its strength in parliament from 2 to 88. They hope that by focusing on this year's expected election, the date and time of the ceremonies has been chosen to coincide with a pilgrimage to Ayodhya. Hindu divines have pronounced the date auspicious.

The temple, as the accompanying ground plan released last week by militant Hindu organisations shows, would be built on site claimed by Moslems and would incorporate an existing mosque. Ayodhya has

mosque was put up by Moslem invaders in the 16th century after destroying an existing temple. Controversy has intensified over the last 100 years. The mosque was locked in 1950 to prevent communal conflict.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi allowed the locks to be removed in 1986 and a foundation stone for the new temple to be laid last year. Mr Gandhi hoped to exploit Hindu sentiment in last year's general election, but found that his defeat in north India was due to Moslems leaving him in

mosques. The reasons for the recent surge of Indian fundamentalism are complex. But at the core is a readiness to blame India's current ills on those seen as undermining traditional Hindu values and society - Moslems, Sikhs, Christian evangelists, western liberals and western-educated Indians.

"This huge and noble society has undergone great degradation," says a recent pamphlet issued by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), the main fundamentalist organisation.

droves. The reasons for the society torn apart, construction of the temple has become the symbol of a Hindu victory over its enemies and of a Hindu community reunited and harmonious. As with most fundamentalist causes, it is a symbol both appealing and terrifying in its consequences.



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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Thatcher lashes out in radio interview at failure to reach agreement on farm subsidies

Bitter words for Britain after Rome summit

By David Buchan and John Wyles in Rome

IRRITATION at some of Mrs Margaret Thatcher's summit tactics and resentment at the British press' treatment of the Italian presidency of the European Community added a sharp edge to the closing comments of Mr Jacques Delors, the president of the European Commission, and Mr Giulio Andreotti, the Italian prime minister.

The former clearly accused his British counterpart of not understanding the working of Community institutions, while the latter implied that she failed to provide the political inspiration needed to guide the choices to be made for Europe's future.

The European Council opened on Saturday evening in a mood of slight exasperation after Mrs Thatcher insistently demanded a discussion on the failure of the Twelve to agree a common position on cutting farm subsidies.

Explaining his refusal to allow a debate, Mr Andreotti said yesterday that the heads of government were not sufficiently briefed.

Mr Delors, however, was altogether more astringent. "I would remind the sharp

MRS MARGARET THATCHER yesterday launched a withering attack on the conduct of the summit and castigated the French and Germans for refusing to reach agreement "for national reasons" on farm subsidies, writes PA in London.

In a BBC radio interview, she accused EC leaders of living in "cloud cuckoo land" over fixing a date, January 1 1994, for the start of the second stage of Emu without first having decided its substance. "That is putting the cart before the horse," she said.

Mrs Thatcher said angrily that the way business at the summit had been conducted was "not competent" and "a mess".

The prime minister also underlined her bitter dislike of an imposed single European currency and warned that it would never get through parliament. "If anyone is suggesting that I would go to parliament and suggest the abolition of the pound sterling - no!"

Mrs Thatcher criticised the way business was handled in Rome, saying: "We are in the silly position where we could not reach a decision on the urgent things, and the presidency curtailed discussion on the urgent things but took refuge on non-urgent and distant things, cloaked in grand and vague words because we have not got round to the

tongues," he said, "that we are not the Americans who negotiate and then consult their congress."

The community had to con-

She went on: "We shall block things which are not in Britain's interests. Of course we shall."

On farm subsidies, she said: "The European Community is the only big trading group that has not tabled its negotiating position. We have been at it since September, 1986. There are only two months left."

Britain had been trying to accelerate the talks, but after 16 hours in Luxembourg, they were "blocked by the national interests on the part of those who in other fora would be saying, 'You must not have a national position, you must have a federal position'."

She went on: "It was blocked by the position of France for national reasons and also by Germany for national reasons, although the community has all the power to reach a decision by a majority vote."

"If the Uruguay Round (on farm subsidies at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks) fails because of the community not doing its stuff, it will not be because of Britain. It will be because of the others."

She insisted that farm trade matters should have been resolved yesterday. "But the Italian presidency decided not to deal with the difficult things, which are urgent, but to deal with the things that are far away because they are not so keenly contested."

sult its congress (the council of ministers) first, and the process was not an easy one. "Those who wished the European Council to try to negoti-

ate on the matter are those who don't understand community institutions," he added, leaving little doubt about his target.

The Italians, for their part, have been stung by British press suggestions that their presidency has been ill-organized and particularly wounded by the comment, made by an authoritative weekly, that it resembled a bus driven by the Marx brothers.

Mr Andreotti clearly felt that the summit's achievements were a sufficient answer to criticism, also from the British press, that the summit was unnecessary.

Such pessimistic comments, he said, specifically reflected an unwillingness to go along with the general movement of the community. Meetings were not being held for the pleasure of meeting but in an effort to develop the community.

The other 11 "cannot afford to lose patience with a country as important as Britain," said Mr Andreotti. They were pursuing the right road and "we hope at some stage this will be recognised."

"In the decisions which are mounting up it is important that there will be political inspiration guiding the choices to be made. We hope that in future this will happen to Britain."



Mr Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, and his foreign minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher (right), hold talks before the start of the last session of the EC summit in Rome

Firm stand taken on hostages in Iraq

By David Buchan and John Wyles in Rome

COMMUNITY leaders sought yesterday to counter any impressions that Iraq could use the release of hostages to weaken international determination to force its withdrawal from Kuwait.

During discussions over dinner on Saturday evening President François Mitterrand was at pains to make clear there had been no secret negotiations to secure the release of the French hostages.

Agreed on the need for a fresh common initiative, the heads of government decided to encourage the UN secretary-general to send a representative to Iraq to seek the release of all western detainees.

This was announced in one of two tough declarations on Middle East issues which answered a US appeal, made by President George Bush in a telephone call to Mr Giulio Andreotti, the Italian prime minister and summit chairman, to dispel any thoughts of a cracking in the united anti-Iraq front.

The EC condemned the holding of hostages, held the Iraqi government responsible for their safety and denounced "the unscrupulous use which Iraq is making of them with the sole and vain purpose of trying to divide the international community."

In addition, the heads of government pledged not to send any representatives to negotiate the release of hostages "and to discourage others from doing so."

Iraqi conduct, said Mr Andreotti, was profoundly damaging to its own interests "because hostility is building up in our different countries." Nevertheless, it was still agreed that military action should only be "a final recourse" to be used after all other means - the embargo and political pressures - had been explored, added Mr Andreotti.

In their general statement on the Middle East the Twelve dealt both with the occupation of Kuwait and the broader Arab-Israel conflict. They reiterated previous demands for a full Iraqi withdrawal, the restoration of the legitimate government of Kuwait, and the freedom of all foreign citizens to leave Iraq and Kuwait.

The UK said to find a "just and lasting" settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict was followed by an expression of support for the calling, "at the appropriate time," of an international peace conference.

Israel was urged to co-operate with the UN's efforts to protect the rights of Palestinians. While referring to the recent "tragic" shooting of Arabs in Jerusalem, the Twelve deplored all violence including attacks on Israeli citizens.

tries like Italy and France about entering an open-ended stage two.

French ministers talked of stages two lasting 4-6 years and only Mr Jacques Delors, the Commission president, opined that the EC could give itself a single money before the year 2000.

Mr Thatcher was more circumspect in the dissenting note she wrote into the summit communiqué than after the summit when she was pressed by reporters to state her bottom-line position on an eventual Emu.

The UK said "it agrees that the overriding objective of monetary policy should be price stability, that the Community's development should be based on an open market system, that excessive budget deficits should be avoided, and that there should be no monetary financing of deficits, nor assumption of responsibility on the part of the Community nor its member states for one member state's debts."

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The second phase will start on 1 January 1994 after:

- the single market programme has been achieved;
- the treaty has been ratified;
- a process has been set in train designed to ensure the independence of the members

The following is the text pertaining to economic and monetary union from yesterday's 15-page final statement:

THE European Council in Madrid fixed the date for the start of the first phase of economic and monetary union; in Strasbourg and Dublin it set the timetable for the intergovernmental conference and the ratification of its results. It now notes with satisfaction the important developments that have occurred in the wake of these decisions.

The council takes note of the results of the preparatory work that constitutes the basis for the intergovernmental conference.

For the final phase of economic and monetary union, eleven member states consider that the work on the amendment of the treaty will be directed to the following points:

- for economic union, an open market system that combines prices stability with growth, employment and environmental protection, and is dedicated to sound and sustainable financial and budgetary conditions, and to economic and social cohesion. To this end, the ability to act of the community institutions will be strengthened;

- for monetary union, the creation of a new monetary institution comprising member states' central banks and a central organ, exercising full responsibility for monetary policy. The monetary institution's prime task will be to maintain price stability, without prejudice to this objective, it will support the general economic policy of the community. This institution as such, as well as the members of its council, will be independent of instructions. It will report to the institutions which are politically responsible.

With the achievement of the final phase of economic and monetary union, exchange rates will be irrevocably fixed. The community will have a single currency - a strong and stable Ecu - which will be an expression of its identity and unity.

The European Council recalls that, in order to move on to the second phase, further satisfactory and lasting progress towards real and monetary convergence will have to be achieved, especially as regards price stability and the restoration of sound public finances.

At the start of the second phase, the new community institution will be established. This will make it possible in particular:

- to strengthen the co-ordination of monetary policies;
- to develop the instruments and procedures needed for the future conduct of a single monetary policy;
- to oversee the development of the Ecu.

At the latest within three years from the start of the second phase, the Commission and the council of the monetary institution will report to the Economic Council and to the General Affairs Council on the functioning of the second phase and in particular on the progress made in real convergence, in order to prepare the decision concerning the passage to the third phase, which will occur within a reasonable time. The General Affairs Council will submit the dossier to the European Council.

The treaty may lay down transitional provisions for the successive stages of economic and monetary union according to the circumstances of the different countries.

The United Kingdom is unable to accept the approach set out above. But it agrees that the overriding objective of monetary policy should be price stability, that the community's development should be based on an open market system, that excessive budget deficits should be avoided, and that there should be no monetary financing of deficits nor assumption of responsibility on the part of the community or its member states for one member state's debts.

The United Kingdom, while ready to move beyond stage one through the creation of a new monetary institution and a common community currency, believes that decisions on the substance of that move should precede decisions on its timing. But it would be ready to see the approach it advocates come into effect as soon as possible after ratification of the necessary treaty provision.

Both intergovernmental conferences will open on 14 December 1990.

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(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)

Registration number 68/01239/06



Profit and dividend announcement for the year ended 30 September 1990

The audited consolidated results of Rand Mines Properties Limited ("RMP") and its subsidiaries for the year ended 30 September 1990 are set out below:

	1990 R'000	1989 R'000	Change %
Turnover	172 188	165 702	+ 4
Operating profit	17 740	9 528	+ 86
- Property	4 438	25 273	- 82
- Gold recovery	22 175	34 807	- 36
Interest - net	11 960	5 283	+ 126
- Received	12 216	5 960	
- Paid	(256)	(677)	
Profit before taxation	34 135	40 080	- 15
Taxation	13 054	14 351	- 9
Profit after taxation	21 085	25 739	- 18
Attributable to:			
- Outside shareholder	157	264	- 45
- Members of RMP	20 928	25 456	- 18
Shares in issue ('000's)	12 403	12 403	
Earnings per share (cents)	169	205	- 18
Dividends per share (cents)	140	140	
- Interim	40	40	
- Final	100	100	
Dividend cover	1.21	1.46	
Extraordinary items attributable to members not included in profit after taxation:			
- Goodwill on acquisition of shares in subsidiary (R'000)			
			(439)

NOTES:

1. Review of results
The results for the year have been affected by the substantial decline in profit contribution from the gold recovery operations, profits from investment land sales and the disposal of undeveloped land, combined with the significant rise in interest received enabled

1.1 Gold recovery	Crown Mines and City Deep Plants	Pilgrim's Rest
Operating results	1990	1989
Sand and stone treated (000 tons)	7 870	7 812
Gold produced (kg)	3 508	3 554
Yield (grams per ton)	0.45	0.46
Revenue (rand per ton treated)	14.94	15.16
Cost (rand per ton treated)	13.30	10.88
Working profit (rand per ton treated)	1.64	4.28
Gold price received (rand per kg)	33 516	33 322
	32 781	31 981

1.2 Cash and bank balances

The group's surplus cash at 30 September 1990 was R58.2 million (1989: R50.4 million).

2. Final dividend
A final dividend of 100 cents (1989: 100 cents) per share has been declared.
3. Posting of annual financial statements
The company's annual financial statements will be mailed to members during the second half of November 1990.
4. Annual general meeting
The annual general meeting of the company will be held on Thursday, 10 January 1991 at 11:00.

For and on behalf of the board
D. T. WATT
J. R. FORBES
J. P. S. TURNER
Directors
Johannesburg
26 October 1990

Declaration of Dividend No. 29

The directors of the company declared dividend No. 29 as a final dividend in respect of the year ended 30 September 1990 as follows:	
Amount (South African currency)	100 cents per share
Last day to register for dividend (and for changes of address or dividend instructions)	9 November 1990
Registers closed from (to inclusive)	10 November 1990 15 November 1990
Ex-dividend on the Johannesburg and London stock exchanges	12 November 1990
Currency conversion date for sterling payments to shareholders paid from London	12 November 1990
Dividend warrants posted	2 January 1991
Rate of non-resident shareholders' tax	15 per cent
The full conditions relating to the dividend may be inspected at or obtained from the Johannesburg offices of the company and its transfer secretaries.	
Johnnesburg 26 October 1990	By order of the board Rand Mines (Mining & Services) Limited Secretaries For J. W. GOATCHER

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AIR ASIA

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

IATA ANNUAL REPORT

Mideast crisis 'hitting airline costs'

By Paul Bettis, Aerospace Correspondent

THE Middle East crisis is putting severe pressure on international airline costs, speeding up the two-year-old trend in declining airline profitability, the International Air Transport Association (IATA) warns in its 1990 annual report, published today.

The financial situation of airlines was already deteriorating during the first half of this year before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. But the Gulf crisis has worsened the outlook, says Mr Gunter Eser, IATA director-general.

Although it remains impossible to forecast the outcome for the full year, IATA expects higher fuel prices and the sharp rises in aircraft hull insurance in the Middle East to have a severe impact on

airline profitability.

The US airline industry, in throng of a wave of consolidations, is forecasting losses of \$1.5bn-\$2bn (\$760m-\$1.2bn) for US airlines alone this year. Many European carriers have also warned of growing losses.

The latest IATA figures show a 7 per cent fall in the collective net profits of the organisation's 200 member airlines last year compared with 1988. Net profits declined to \$800m from \$2.5bn, while operating profits fell to \$4.3bn last year from \$6.2bn the year before.

Total revenues rose to \$144.5bn last year from \$125.1bn the previous year, but operating expenses increased more sharply from \$118.5bn to \$140.2bn.

Cargo traffic is expected to grow about 7 per cent this year and then average about 7 per cent a year through to 1994.

The Far East remains the fastest growing region for the airline industry, with nearly 10 per cent annual growth for north-east Asia and 8.5 per cent growth for south-east Asia during the next four years.

IATA expects North America and Europe to continue to show steady annual growth averaging 6.8 per cent and 6.2 per cent respectively.

By the end of the decade, quantifiable annual losses to European economies arising from the failure to alleviate capacity constraints could exceed \$10bn, IATA says, adding that unquantifiable economic and social costs could be even higher.

tant responsibilities regarding infrastructure of transport and communications.

The report stresses the need for investment in basic education and manpower training, neglected during the debt crisis. This is the key to a more productive labour force and to any durable recovery.

To sustain a recovery, the report says Latin American nations will have to do more to raise the level of domestic savings. The latter must be used as the principal means of funding investment and can only be complemented by increased foreign direct investment, return of flight capital, debt reduction and stepped up bilateral and multilateral lending.

Each of the latter sources of funding depend "crucially on a continuation of the policy reforms now under way in the region". The IADB emphasises the inter-dependence of these reforms.

Private sector savings will result from increased financial liberalisation and from tax reforms initiated during the 1980s; higher public savings will come from restructuring the public sector, while privatisation should encourage debt reduction, at reducing debt overhang and encouraging foreign investment.

Finally, the report sees greater external financing being linked to carrying out economic liberalisation and deregulation.

Mandela speaks to Diet tomorrow

MR NELSON Mandela, the South African political leader, will tomorrow become the first black man ever to address the Japanese Diet, Ian Rodger reports from Tokyo.

This will be the highlight of a six-day visit illustrating a remarkable change in official Japan's attitude to the outside world in general, and to the world's poor - and poor blacks - in particular.

Until a few years ago, Japanese people scarcely thought of Africa. Now, Mr Mandela comes on an official invitation, almost as a hero.

Yesterday, he addressed an 20,000-strong anti-apartheid rally in Osaka. Today, he begins a round of calls in Tokyo. Virtually every leading politician wants to meet him. Mr Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, is above all seeking financial aid for the ANC.

By John Elliott in Hong Kong

HONG KONG has failed during two weeks of talks with senior officials from China to win Peking's support for plans to build a HK\$85bn (£1.5bn) international airport on reclaimed land.

The leader of a Peking delegation to Hong Kong said yesterday that China had important reservations about the proposed siting, size and funding of the airport.

Mr Luo Jiahuan, who is research director of China's Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office, said he hoped Hong Kong would re-examine these issues.

This outspokenness is a blow for Hong Kong. Senior government officials knew when the delegation arrived earlier this

month that it had no authority to approve the projects. But they had hoped to win enough support to prevent any statements being issued beyond bland comments by both sides at the end of last week.

The airport, part of infrastructure projects costing at HK\$127bn when they were announced a year ago, is urgently needed to replace Hong Kong's existing heavily congested Kai Tak airport.

China accepts this but is using the issue to demonstrate its claim to a say in the affairs of the colony, which returns to its sovereignty in 1997.

Until China gives its approval, private sector institutions, which are expected to provide 40 per cent or more of the capital cost from international sources, are unlikely to confirm their interest.

This forced the government earlier this month to abandon plans for international companies to finance, construct and operate HK\$6bn-HK\$12bn bridges and tunnels to the airport. Instead it will carry out the project itself, with money from its own reserves.

Critics say that the projects are too grandiose, that the bridges and tunnels are badly sited, and that the government is being insensitive in its dealings with China.

In particular, they say it is refusing to acknowledge that China has rights to anything more than broad consultation.



Wimpey men in group arrested in Liverpool

By Emma Tucker and Andrew Taylor

A SENIOR executive and a former executive of Wimpey, the UK construction group, were among 22 people arrested on Friday by police investigating alleged land corruption deals involving Liverpool City Council, the group said yesterday.

Mr Alan Worthington, regional director of Wimpey's north-west division, and Mr Geoffrey Slater, who retired as regional director last year, were released on police bail along with 18 other people, including Mr Derek Hutton, former deputy leader of the council.

Two of those arrested were charged with handling stolen goods unrelated to the police inquiry into corrupt land deals. They are due to appear in Liverpool City Magistrates Court today.

Others released on police bail include Mr Max Robinson and Mr Anthony Sykes, directors of the small Stockport property company Tealido and Stirling Land and Property; two city councillors, Ms Hannah Folan and Mr George Kubly; Mr John Nelson, a former Liverpool councillor; and Mr Tony Beygar, a former Knowsley councillor.

More than 50 private and business premises were raided by police officers on Friday including the Liverpool offices



Prof Littlechild: will evaluate all purchasing contracts

Power companies face policy review

By David Thomas, Resources Editor

A SWEEPING review of the regional electricity companies' purchasing policies and independent power projects is to be undertaken by the industry's regulator after they are privatised.

The review may be interpreted by industry observers as limiting the regional companies' freedom to decide what is happening in some of the most important areas of their activities.

Details of the review are contained in a letter from Professor Stephen Littlechild, director general of the Office of Electricity Supply, to the 12 regional electricity companies (including short-term and options contracts) that a regional company has undertaken.

A lengthy extract from the

letter, which has not been published, is contained in a draft of the privatisation prospectus leaked this week to Friends of the Earth, the environmentalist group.

Explaining the reasons for the review, Prof Littlechild tells the regional companies in the letter: "The electricity purchasing policies of the regional companies will greatly influence the future development of the industry."

Prof Littlechild therefore proposes "to evaluate at periodic intervals the whole portfolio of purchasing contracts (including short-term and options contracts) that a regional company has undertaken".

It is understood that the review will take place in about three years' time, about one year before the planned full examination of the industry's price-control formula.

As part of the review, the regulator will look at stakes held by the regional companies in the new wave of independent power stations.

Where a [regional company] has taken equity in generation projects, I would need to be assured in addition that other generators had not been overlooked or put at a disadvantage," Prof Littlechild says in his letter.

It is understood that Prof Littlechild will want to ensure that the electricity purchases

of a regional company do not favour an independent generating company in which it holds a stake.

He adds: "I would need evidence that, in accepting particular contracts, due attention has been given to seeking out the most favourable proposals."

His objective would be "to assess the reasonableness of the [regional company's] strategy as a whole."

It is understood that the regulator believes that the review is justified by the regional companies' statutory licence. That requires each company "to purchase or acquire electricity from the most economical sources available".

Divisions over Europe and waning popularity worry Tory party

By Ivo Dawsay, Political Correspondent

A FRESH outbreak of nervous jitters swept the Conservative party yesterday amid signs of worsening divisions over Europe and a marked deterioration in the party's showing in the opinion polls.

As Mrs Thatcher lambasted her EC colleagues for failing to give priority to urgent trade issues, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the deputy prime minister, tried to make light of Tory differences on EC steps towards monetary union.

However, his efforts, on London Weekend Television, immediately provoked calls for his resignation from a leading opponent of federalism. Mr Patrick Robertson, secretary of the anti-federalist Tory Bruges Group, said Sir Geoffrey's remarks showed he did not understand national sovereignty.

"His statement gave no clear message to the electorate about at which point the government is prepared to halt the process of integration within the EC," Mr Robertson said.

"As such he is in no position to defend the national interest and should resign."

The Tory disarray was highlighted

by Mr Gerald Kaufman, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman, who attacked Mrs Thatcher for a "pathetic and ugly" response to the Rome meeting.

Britain should be building alliances with her partners to obtain the community changes it needs, he said.

Meanwhile, Conservative MPs were seeing new evidence of the party's declining fortunes with the electorate.

Two polls published yesterday showed Labour's lead over the Tories increasing to 16 points and the Liberal Democrats improving on the back of their Eastbourne by-election victory.

A Market & Opinion Research International (Mori) sample of 1,940 voters in The Sunday Times saw Labour at 49 per cent (up from 45 per cent last month), Conservatives at 33 per cent (38 per cent) and the Liberal Democrats at 14 per cent (12 per cent). It also reported that Mrs Thatcher's personal approval rating had dropped from 36 per cent to 29 per cent.

Both parties have recently put education as the top issue on their agenda of policy priorities.

Labour's new lead - its best showing since the poll tax protests six months ago - and the improved showing of the Liberal Democrats were almost exactly paralleled in a Harris poll in the Observer.

In another survey, most MPs were seen to favour a single currency. The poll of 70 Tory and 66 opposition MPs carried out by On Line Telephones, a Mori subsidiary, found support from 45 per cent of Tories and 65 per cent of opposition MPs. The opinion polls came shortly after a Conservative inquiry into the election defeat at Eastbourne absolved the party's campaign strategy of responsibility.

Barclays to cut 1,800 jobs in overhaul

By Richard Lapper

ABOUT 1,800 jobs are to go at Barclays Bank, the group confirmed yesterday. The move is part of a long-term overhaul of Barclays' retail branch network.

The decision to shed 1,800 clerical and 500 management posts was originally made this month after a one-year review of UK operations.

Barclays is regrouping its branch network into clusters of four or five banks around one central branch. A total of 467 clusters will be created. Overall, the number of Barclays branches will be reduced by about 110.

The bank says its services to customers should be improved by the change, which "allows individual branches to gain access to a greater level of expertise". At the same time, "the days of the traditional branch manager are over", it says.

Barclays aims to achieve the cuts through natural wastage and a slowdown in recruitment.

It will be seeking to retrain clerical workers into more skilled positions such as "personal bankers" and "loan officers" and says it "aims to transform a processing culture into a selling culture".

Cable TV popular with subscribers, study says

By Raymond Snoddy

THE CABLE Authority today publishes a study of viewer reaction to satellite television channels distributed through cable, which finds that the mixture of films, light entertainment, news, sport and music is popular with subscribers.

The respondents saw the channels as "quality television", which they defined as good-quality programmes of their type.

The qualitative research was based on detailed interviews with 30 cable television subscribers.

Earlier quantitative research showed that in cable homes the new channels were taking 40 per cent of adult viewing and 50 per cent of children's viewing.

Sky Television accounted for a 25.6 per cent weekly share of viewing and the newer British Satellite Broadcasting, in which Pearson, publisher of the Financial Times, has a stake, took an 8.4 per cent share.

Moves to end row on Aids compensation

By Ivo Dawsay, Political Correspondent

EFFORTS to defuse the political row over the issue of further government compensation for 920 haemophiliacs infected with the Aids virus are making progress in confidential talks with the victims' lawyers.

However, as MPs step up calls for a payout this week, the biggest obstacle to a deal lies in persuading all the plaintiffs to accept an out-of-court settlement.

The government is anxious to reach a deal to avoid an embarrassing and lengthy court hearing, which is scheduled to begin in March and could drag on dangerously close to a general election. It also wishes to head off mounting dissatisfaction from backbench Tory MPs who have joined their Labour counterparts in demanding an improvement in the £34m already paid in compensation.

The party leadership is more than aware that the tragedy, in

which more than 1,200 haemophiliacs were infected with Aids from a blood-clotting agent widely used by the National Health Service, is bolstering allegations that the government is "uncaring".

However, the legal complexities of the individual cases are immense. Many of the victims - 150 of whom have already died - took out actions against individual doctors, local health authorities and the previous Labour government.

While refusing to admit negligence in the cases, lawyers representing the Department of Health and the Treasury have made it clear that more money will be forthcoming if all the loose ends can be tied up.

Talks between the government and the victims' lawyers centre on how to establish guarantees that this will be achieved. Then comes the problem of persuading all the victims to accept the deal and abandon legal actions.

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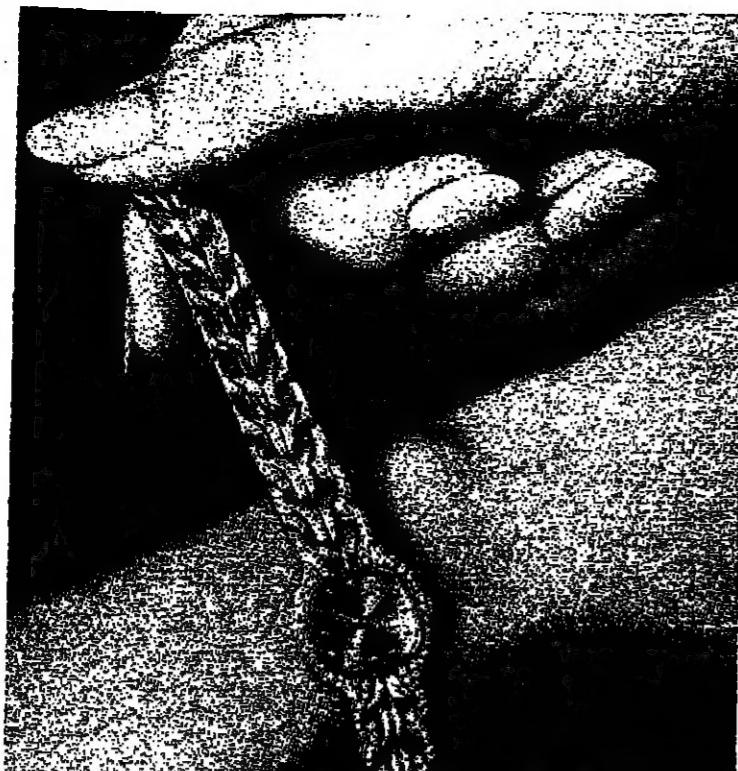
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UK NEWS

Chemical specialists stay immune to gloom

Clive Cookson on a possible misapprehension arising from ICI's recent results

WHEN people think of the UK chemical industry they usually think of ICI. So last week's news that ICI's third-quarter profits were at only half last year's level may give the impression that the whole industry is in recession.

However, ICI's troubles derive largely from its bulk chemical operations which are always vulnerable to business cycles and have suffered additional strain from the oil price rise following the Gulf crisis.

All the smaller UK chemical companies operate in the "speciality chemicals" sector,

which has not been affected by the same sharp downturn as the international bulk chemicals industry.

Indeed, some products are still enjoying a sales boom. One is rayon, a cellulose fibre made by Courtaulds, a UK company that has been predominantly a speciality chemicals producer since the demerger of its textiles business early this year.

Rayon is very much in demand among upmarket clothes manufacturers, who are willing to pay a high price to obtain the material. A bonus for Courtaulds, which has 70 per cent of the US rayon market, is that the cost of its raw material, wood pulp, is falling.

The rayon boom is one reason why Mr Sipko Huisman, Courtaulds managing director, reacts impatiently to talk of a recession. "There is a danger of industry talked itself into a recession," he says, adding that Courtaulds' trading position is as bright now as three months ago.

All industries use speciality chemicals as ingredients in their manufacturing processes. Since they are tailored to particular applications, such chemicals are far less vulnerable than bulk chemicals to the ups and downs of the economy.

"The bulk chemicals businesses are proving themselves to be as vulnerable as they ever were," says Ms Jinty Price, UK chemicals analyst at Barclays de Zoete Wedd. "In the speciality chemicals business, the general level of profits and margins are still reasonable. The divergence in performance between the two sectors is increasingly marked as we look into next year."

The UK's largest independent speciality chemical pro-



This recession-proof nature of National Health Service prescriptions and over-the-counter remedies has helped Britain's chemists to escape the ravages of the retail downturn, according to a report published today.

NHS prescriptions accounted for 44 per cent of chemist turnover of £7.2bn in 1989. Excluding Boots, the diversified retailer, the NHS proportion soon to more than 60 per cent.

Boots accounted for 40 per cent of chemists' sales.

Verdict Research, an analyst

specialising in the retail sec-

tor, concludes that many chemists lack sufficient entrepreneurial drive to increase non-NHS sales. The limit on new licences introduced in 1987 has encouraged takeovers.

Growth in the related drug-store sector - toiletry retailers that are not licensed to fill prescriptions - has slowed. Verdict, however, believes the UK could support 1,500 such outlets compared with the present figure of 1,100.

Verdict on Chemists and Drugstores. Verdict Research, 112 High Holborn, London WC1V 6JS. £250.

ing growth in continental European and Far Eastern markets. Even some very small producers of specialised organic chemicals - companies with fewer than 10 employees, all highly qualified - sell most of their production overseas.

According to Mr Keith Wey, senior economist at the Chemical Industries Association, there is still real growth among producers of chemicals for the oil and electronics industries, and intermediate compounds, which go into pharmaceuticals.

Since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the cost of naphtha, the oil derivative which is the main petrochemical feedstock, has doubled. That has led to a cascade of smaller price increases throughout the chemical industry.

Speciality producers are being asked to pay 10 to 20 per cent more for many chemical ingredients derived originally from oil. Price increases of that size are not a serious blow, since materials are not the main cost for producers of high-value specialist chemicals. In any case, the increases will be passed on to customers.

Mr John Cox, director-general of the Chemical Industries Association, says the rate of growth of industrial gas consumption has been declining steadily over the past year. In October 1989, the volume of gas sales was 7 per cent higher than a year before. Sales are now close to the level of October 1989.

Tony Andrews

Synonymous with the industry: ICI's plant at Billingham



UK industry as a whole is now close to recession. Mr Giordano feels, but it has not yet fallen over the edge.

Mr Giordano, director-general of the Chemical Industries Association, says business began to turn down for most chemical companies during the third quarter of 1990. "But we don't see recessionary conditions at the moment. This is nothing like the situation we saw in the early 1980s."

Many specialist chemical companies export a large proportion of their output. They are being sustained by continu-

"At the moment, we're not seeing shortages but there is a fear of shortages," Mr Cuthbert says. "Where we have critical raw materials with long lead times, we're letting inventories build up." Brent is building up stocks of some oil-based solvents as well as surfactants - agents that act on the surface of liquids and solids.

For most bulk chemical companies, the rise in oil and energy prices as a result of the Gulf crisis is exacerbating the effects of the downturn. Costlier energy can, however, produce unexpected benefits for some companies.

BOC, for example, sells more oxygen when oil and natural gas prices are high over a sustained period. Many factories then feed oxygen into their combustion systems, to make the fuel burn more efficiently.

High UK interest rates can benefit international companies which have dollar debts and sterling deposits but harm heavily indebted companies.

Most UK speciality chemical companies today, however, have strong balance sheets and will not suffer as a result of high interest rates. Many will be on the lookout for acquisitions if there is an industry-wide recession. This month's agreement by MTM of the UK to buy Hardwicke Chemicals of the US for \$112m may be a sign of things to come.

"I don't know of any truly recession-proof companies, except perhaps in pharmaceuticals," says Mr Giordano. He and his colleagues in the UK chemicals industry seem confident nevertheless that they are in much better shape to weather a recession in 1991 than they were 10 years ago.



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LONDON BUSINESS SCHOOL FORECAST

Risk of slower growth and more jobless

By Rachel Johnson, Economics Staff

LOWER OUTPUT growth and rising unemployment will be the price of Britain's entry into the exchange-rate mechanism of the European Monetary System, the London Business School warn today.

In its Jun forecast, the LBS predicted that Britain would join at a central rate of DM9.25 - so its October forecast focuses on the costs and benefits of joining the ERM at the higher central parity of DM9.25.

Entry at that rate is forecast to produce recession in output, but growth in the second half of the year. Growth in gross domestic product is expected to slow to just 1.5 per cent this year and next, and average about 2 per cent from 1992 onwards.

The forecasters are pessimistic as to whether ERM entry will moty wage bargaining. Average earnings are rising at

ECONOMIC FORECASTS					
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
GDP	1.5	1.4	2.2	1.9	2.4
Inflation	9.5	7.1	4.2	3.2	3.1
Consumers' Expenditure	2.6	2.4	2.3	1.6	1.8
Total Fixed Investment	-0.9	-1.3	1.4	1.5	2.3
Govt Consumption	2.5	1.4	0.8	0.9	1.0
Stockbuilding	-0.6	-1.5	0.5	0.8	1.4
Exports	5.1	3.0	2.5	1.8	2.5
Imports	2.8	1.8	2.8	1.0	1.0
Sterling Index*	92	94	94	92	92
PSOR (£bn, financial years)	2.4	-0.4	0.5	1.7	1.4
Current Balance (£bn)	-17.0	-16.5	-14.9	-11.8	-9.9
Adult Unemployment (UK, m)	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.0
Percentage change unless otherwise shown: * Percentage change in volume.	Source: Economic Outlook 1990-1993, June 1990.	1990-1993 = 100.			

an annual rate of 10.3 per cent, but only when unemployment climbs will underlying earnings start to fall, the study says.

The singularity of wage bargainers' response to the

that the government will avoid downward realignments within the mechanism and that policy will be designed for exchange-rate stability.

That leaves the scope for fiscal policy "severely curtailed", with no room for tax cuts as public spending is running far ahead of official targets. There will be a small budget surplus of £2.4bn this year, compared with the LBS's forecast of £5.5bn, and that the budget will balance from 1991-92 onwards, the LBS says.

Sterling's wide bands, however, give flexibility on the government's policy stance. With the economy already experiencing a slowdown, and as the next election approaches, there is room for more interest rate cuts, perhaps to 12 per cent by the middle of next year.

Consumer spending is set to decelerate further as a result of

falling real income growth, and total fixed investment is also going to fall. On the trade side, muted domestic demand, the recovery of the exchange rate and the prospects of a world recession all conspire to weaken the outlook for exports.

The trend of rising manufactured exports is expected to ease only slightly. Even after four years of relatively slow growth, the current deficit in forecast at \$10bn in 1994, or 1.4 per cent of GDP.

While the slowdown in the economy means inflationary pressures are moderating, headline inflation and earnings are showing no sign of easing. However, September's 10.9 per cent rate of retail price inflation was the peak and, helped by lower mortgage rates, inflation should be back to 5 per cent by the end of next year, LBS forecasts.

EC confrontation expected on carbon dioxide emissions

By Alison Smith in London, David Goodhart in Bonn and Lucy Kellaway in Brussels

bring forward any proposals about CO₂ emissions from vehicles, although it has been pressed to do so by both Germany and the UK for more than a year.

The Luxembourg conference will also discuss directives to ensure cleaner rivers and seas, and safer disposal of dangerous waste.

There are fears that the commission's attitude might sour the second world climate change conference to be held in Geneva a week later, when the aim will be to get countries such as India and China to agree to set targets for stabilising.

The UK believes that, if some of the more developed EC countries have just avoided setting targets, then the prospect of reaching a more general and effective agreement will be diminished.

Delays in pension transfer criticised by advice body

By Eric Short, Pensions Correspondent

DELAYS IN handling company pension transfers have been severely criticised by the Occupational Pensions Advisory Service.

Miss Margaret Grainger, chairman of Opas, found fault with company pension administrators who delay handling or transfer of credits under such schemes to employees and former employees.

In the Opas annual report, she said concern by individuals over the delays in obtaining a quotation and in transfer of money was one of the main reasons for the record 3,500 inquiries and complaints received by Opas in the year to March 31 1990.

The service handled nearly 3,000 complaints in the preceding year.

Apart from delays, Opas tackled other pension difficulties during the year, including women losing their benefit rights through their husband's pension scheme after a divorce and personal pensions being incorrectly sold.

She also intends to hold talks with SIB, the other self-regulating organisations and the Insurance and Building Society Ombudsman to designate the respective areas of responsibility for complaints on pensions.

The cases took more than three months to resolve.

Opas was founded in 1984 by

Miss Grainger and until now

has operated as a voluntary

organisation funded by donations,

with expert advisers providing free services.

Its financial future is now assured through government funding, but its future role needs to be resolved both in relation to the new Pension

Ombudsman scheme and the various complaint procedures operating under the auspices of the Securities and Investments Board (SIB). A Pension

Ombudsman has yet to be appointed.

Miss Grainger envisages that an enlarged, properly funded, Opas would provide the first stage in the complaints procedure, and that complaints by individuals would be handled by the Pension Ombudsman system only if that system were to fail.

She also intends to hold talks with SIB, the other self-regulating organisations and the Insurance and Building Society Ombudsman to designate the respective areas of responsibility for complaints on pensions.

Unionists lay stress on Dublin claims

By our Belfast Correspondent

THE REMOVAL of the Republic of Ireland's constitutional claim to Northern Ireland remains a priority for unionists, according to Mr James Molyneaux, the Ulster Unionist leader.

Addressing his party's annual conference at Newcastle, County Down, on Saturday, Mr Molyneaux said the Dublin Supreme Court ruling on articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution earlier this year had handed a "sheaf of death warrants" to the IRA.

The articles set out constitutional claims to the territory of the north. The ruling was significant because it gave the claim legal weight.

Mr Molyneaux said: "The Irish government has at its disposal the means to advance the cause of peace. It would attract much international goodwill if it was to drop that territorial claim in conformity with its being a signatory of the Helsinki Agreement."

The agreement recognises the boundaries of sovereign states.

Upturn in housing market will be delayed, study says

By Andrew Taylor, Construction Correspondent

A RECOVERY in the depressed UK housing market is unlikely until the latter half of next year, according to the London Business School.

Even the upturn does not expect to be short-lived and modest.

"It seems that Britain's entry to the exchange-rate mechanism of the European Monetary System should prompt a recovery in house prices from the middle of next year."

It expects annual house price inflation to peak at about 11 per cent before slipping back in 1991 and 1992 to about 7 per cent.

The forecast will bring slight comfort to UK construction companies, which are suffering serious declines in earnings as a result of the recession in the residential and commercial property markets.

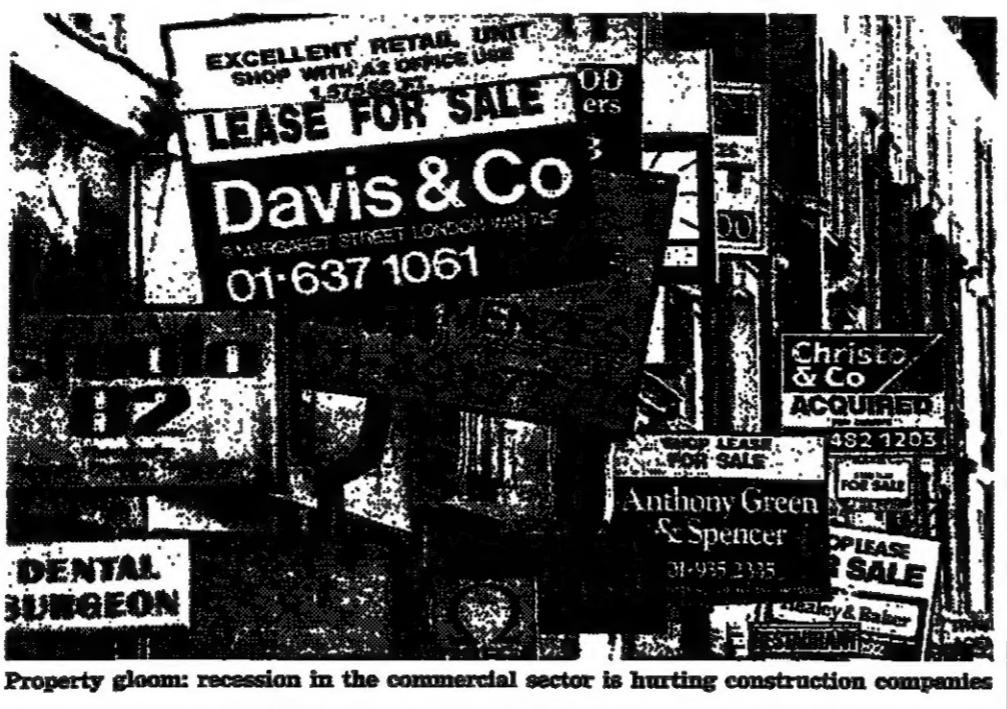
The recovery in house prices is expected to be less strong

than previously expected. That is because real disposable income is forecast as growing more slowly during 1991 than had been expected.

As a result, investment in new houses is expected to recover only slightly from their present depressed levels, the LBS says.

The prospects for the UK economy are for a period of only moderate growth, with personal disposable incomes growing by only 1.5 per cent a year from 1990 to 1993 and with interest rates remaining at about 12 per cent. These factors indicate a relatively weak recovery of the housing market."

The LBS says house prices on average fell by 1 per cent during the 12 months to the end of June. It forecasts that the number of homes started by builders in Britain will fall to 141,000 this year from 165,000 in 1989.



Property gloom: recession in the commercial sector is hurting construction companies

Housing starts are expected to increase to 145,000 next year before levelling at between 133,000 and 152,000 in each of the three years after 1991.

Housing starts and investment will remain well below 1980s levels, the LBS says.

Part of the reason for that is the decline in the birth rate

since the baby boom of the 1950s and 1960s. Demand for homes from people born in those two decades had pushed up house prices by as much as 20 per cent.

We believe that this 20 per cent premium on house prices will be unwound during the mid 1990s as the number in the

first-time-buyer age group falls.

This demographic factor will lead to a weakening of house prices in comparison to personal incomes in the middle of the decade," the LBS says.

"Capital gains on the scale made in the 1980s will not be repeated in the 1990s.

A deep malaise, Page 21

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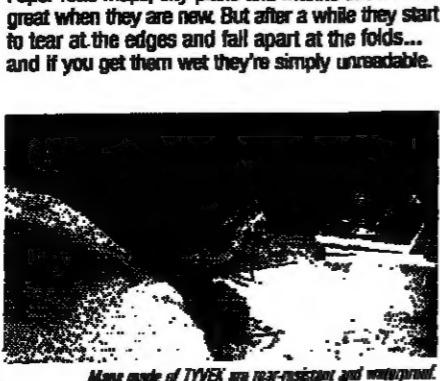
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Contact: Caroline Little, Institute of
Petroleum, 071-636 1004

LONDON

NOVEMBER 8
CYPRUS: Conference &
Workshop
Trade, investment and offshore
opportunities. Key address given by
H.E. Mr Angelos Angelidis. Contact:
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Commerce & Industry
Tel: 071 248 4444
Fax: 071 489 0391

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One Year On: German Unity and the
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International Affairs and UACES.
Chatham House, 10 St James' Sq.
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trading and investment banking,
flexible architectures, IT
management style and decision
support in trading and risk
management. The Barbican Centre.
Contact: Frances Bellamy-Knights,
Bleuheim Online
Tel: 081-868 4466 Ext 250.

LONDON

NOVEMBER 15
Planning for Taurus
A one day conference on the
implications of the Taurus design.
Portman International Hotel,
Contact: Elizabeth James,
Equity International.
Tel: 071 250 0967

LONDON

NOVEMBER 15-16
Expert Advice on Export
Controls 1990
One day conference, Cafe Royal,
London.
Contact: Linda McKay, Legal
Studies and Services Ltd.
071-236 4080

LONDON

NOVEMBER 19
100 Years of Japanese Parliamentary
Institutions Jointly organised: Royal
Institute of International Affairs and
the Japan Society. Involves British
and Japanese parliamentarians.
Chatham House, 10 St James' Sq.
London Enquiries: Japan Society 071
434 4507

LONDON

NOVEMBER 19
RECENT TRENDS IN THE
EUROMARKET
One day Conference covering
hedging instruments, FX
transactions, new OTC options, and
merger & acquisition. Sponsored by
Paribas Capital Markets Group.
Contact: Nyazi Maung, LCCI
Tel: 071 248 4444 Fax: 071 489 0391

LONDON

NOVEMBER 20
The UK Economy into the 1990's.
The Henley Centre's Annual
Conference examining economic
prospects and their implications.
The Cavendish Conference Centre,
London W1 £275+ VAT
Contact: Jacqui Gots, The Henley
Centre Tel: 071-353 9961

LONDON

NOVEMBER 20-22
GOLF INTERNATIONAL 2000
Exhibitions, Seminar & Workshops
For all concerned with developing
golf courses in UK and Europe
Seminar November 19, Royal Garden
Hotel, London. Exhibition,
Workshops - Nov 20-22, Sandown
Park, Esher, Surrey.
Tel: 081 681 1242 Fax: 081 681 0012

ESTHER/LONDON

NOVEMBER 21-23
Capital Markets Workshops
Price Waterhouse Training
Centre, London
Enquiries: Financial Times Conference
Organisation

Tel: 071-925 2323
Fax: 071-925 2125

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Price Waterhouse Training
Centre, London
Enquiries: Financial Times Conference
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Tel: 071-925 2323
Fax: 071-925 2125

LONDON

NOVEMBER 27
It's Not Easy Being Green: An
Assessment of Environmental
Costs and Benefits.
Guest of Honour and Speaker, Robert
Horton (Chairman of The British
Petroleum Co.), Grosvenor House,
London Contact: Caroline Little,
Institute of Petroleum 071-636 1004

LONDON

NOVEMBER 27
FRANCE - An Ideal
Manufacturing Base
Seminar & Workshop presented by
LUSINOR SACLOR GROUP, the
largest private investment agency in
France with access to EC, national
& regional funds. Contact: Nyazi
Maung, LCCI

Tel: 071 348 4444 Fax: 071 489 0391

LONDON

NOVEMBER 29-30
Information Technology into the
Next Century.
R and D - The State of the
Market? Institute of Physics Annual
Corporate Affairs Conference, open to
non-members. IBM (UK)
Laboratories, Winchester. Contact:
Tilly Quanjer. Tel: 0272 297481
Ext 225. Fax: 0272 394318

WINCHESTER

DECEMBER 3-4
Energy and The New Europe:
The Global Dimension
The 5th International Energy
Conference, convened by the Royal
Institute of International Affairs,
BIEE, and the IAEI, Chatham
House, Contact: RIIA Conferences -
Tel: 071-920 2233. Fax: 071-839 3593

LONDON

DECEMBER 3-4
The Future of the Gulf: Risks and
Opportunities.
Hyde Park Hotel, London SW1
Contact: Kate Williamson,
Conference Connections (UK) Ltd
Tel: 0767 600662

LONDON

NOVEMBER 19-22
DECEMBER 5

NOVEMBER 19-22
GOLF INTERNATIONAL 2000
Exhibitions, Seminar & Workshops
For all concerned with developing
golf courses in UK and Europe
Seminar November 19, Royal Garden
Hotel, London. Exhibition,
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DECEMBER 5

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Capital Markets Workshops
Price Waterhouse Training
Centre, London
Enquiries: Financial Times Conference
Organisation

Tel: 071-925 2323
Fax: 071-925 2125

LONDON

DECEMBER 7
CAPITAL PEOPLE
The 1st European Conference on
Human Resource Strategies in
Financial Services.
Tel: Lynn Brook, Touchstone
Exhibitions & Conferences Ltd
081-840 3888

LONDON

DECEMBER 7
Guarantees: The Problem Areas.
London Press Centre, EC4
Chairman - Mark Higginson,
Barrister.
Contact: Joanna Hubert, Legal
Studies and Services Ltd.
071-236 4080.

LONDON

NOVEMBER 8-9
OVERSEAS
Telecoms Approval for the Single
Market.
The latest on the Commission's and
Standard Institute's and the
commercial implications.
ComEd Tel: (+44) 071 274 8725.
Fax: 071 733 0266 And Tel (+33) 1
4960 9003 Fax: 4671 3634.

PARIS

NOVEMBER 13-14
International Conference on the
Automotive Industry and the
Environment
Intercontinental Hotel,
London W1 £275+ VAT
Contact: Helen Conn, Environmental
Matters Ltd Tel: (44) 712341876

GENEVA

NOVEMBER 19-20
Business with Spain - Strategies for
Developing Competitiveness.
Palace Hotel Madrid
Enquiries: Financial Times Conference
Organisation

Tel: 071-925 2323

Fax: 071-925 2125

LONDON

EXHIBITIONS

NOVEMBER 13-15
Computers In The City
Europe's premier financial
information technology event. It
brings together over 140 suppliers
from the leading edge of IT,
encompassing a wide spectrum of
applications directly relevant to the
world of high finance. For
complimentary exhibition tickets or
more info call 081-688 4466.

BARBICAN, LONDON

To advertise in this section please telephone Mark Hall-Smith 071-873 3580

Adjudication of a concession for the exclusive operation, under a public service regime, of a reception and regasification terminal for liquified natural gas (LNG) and a high pressure transportation pipeline for natural gas (NG) between Setúbal and Braga and the construction of their respective infrastructures.

NOTIFICATION OF A PUBLIC CALL FOR TENDER

1. Under a government order issued by the Minister of Industry and Energy, published in the Diário da República (Official Portuguese Government Gazette) number 222, II series, of the 23rd of September 1989 (2nd supplement), under the terms of article 2 of Decree Law number 285/89 of the 18th of September, and under the terms of the bases thereto annexed and Decree Law number 284/89 of the 18th of September, a public tender is hereby issued for the adjudication of an exclusive concession for the operation, under a public service regime, of a reception and regasification terminal for liquified natural gas (LNG) and a high pressure gas transportation pipeline for natural gas (NG) between Setúbal and Braga, hereinafter referred to in an abbreviated form as LNG Terminal and Gas Pipeline and the construction of their respective infrastructures.

2. The tender will be the responsibility of the Director General for Energy under the terms of the delegated powers granted to him by the government order referred to in the preceding number.

3. From the date of publication of this notification in the Diário da República, the tender documents will be available for inspection by interested parties, at the head offices of the Directorate General for Energy in Lisbon where they can be examined during normal office hours until the day before the eve of the public tender opening ceremony.

4. The component parts of the tender are set out in the respective general index and interested parties may, by submitting a written application to the Directorate General for Energy, before the 9th of November 1990, obtain authenticated copies of the same which will be delivered on payment of 250.000\$00 (two hundred and fifty thousand Portuguese escudos) either in cash or by cheque.

5. Companies which are established in any Member State of the European Economic Community and which possess technical and management expertise within the field of operations which are the object of the concession and which have the financial capacity to comply with the obligations imposed under the concession may compete either individually or in a consortium.

6. For the purpose of guaranteeing the maintenance of the commitment taken on with the production of the proposal and the obligations imposed under the tender, competitors must provide a guarantee of one thousand million escudos payable either in cash or securities issued or guaranteed by the Portuguese State or by means of a bank or insurance guarantee payable to the Directorate General for Energy.

7. Bids must be delivered by hand at the Head Offices of the Directorate General for Energy in Lisbon against the issue of a receipt before 5 p.m. on the 7th of February 1991, drawn up in Portuguese and accompanied by eight copies and, in addition, two translations in English with the original always taking preference over the translations.

8. Bids must be valid for a period of 240 days, commencing from the public tender opening ceremony after which the obligation, in the case of those competitors who do not receive a notification of having been awarded the concession, of maintaining the respective bids, ceases. This period is considered to be automatically extended by the tacit agreement of those competitors who fail to make application to the contrary for a further period of 120 days.

9. The public tender opening ceremony will be held at the head offices of the Directorate General for Energy in Lisbon and will take place at approximately 10 a.m. on the 9th of February 1991.

10. A maximum number of only three individuals per competitor may be present at the public tender opening ceremony and must be duly accredited for the purpose of representing the company at the ceremony.

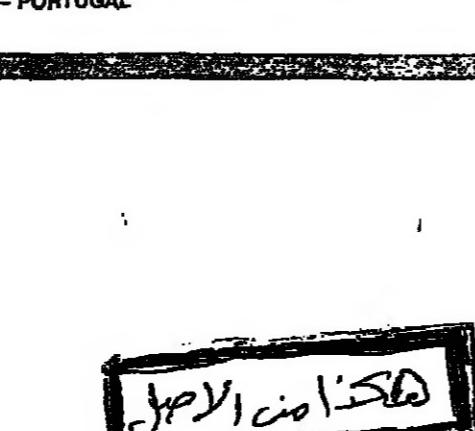
11. The appraisal criterion for the bids for the purposes of adjudication will be that of the best guarantee of satisfaction of public interest with the following items (not in order of priority) constituting preferential factors:

- Technical and economic quality of the project;
- Degree of compliance with the financial requirements of the tender;
- Security put forward for guaranteeing the timely supply;
- Planning schedule for project completion with the specification of the date forecast for the start up of operations of the LNG Terminal and Pipeline;
- Measures proposed for the minimising of the project's eventual negative effects on the environment;
- Proposed time limit for the exclusively of supply by the concessionaire.

12. The notification for publication in the Official Journal of the European Communities was sent on the 25th of September 1990.

Minister of Industry and Energy
Directorate General for Energy

Rua da Horta Seca, 15 Tel.: 346 30 91 - Fax: 346 98 16 - Telex: 62660
1200 LISBOA - PORTUGAL



UK NEWS

British Gas raises cost of fixed-price supply contracts

By David Thomas, Resources Editor

BRITISH GAS has sharply

increased the cost of one of its main types of gas supply contract for business customers as a result of the Gulf crisis.

British Gas, the near-monopoly supplier of gas to UK business,

has increased its prices by 20 per cent for a one-year fixed price

contract and for a two-year contract to 20 per cent.

The increases are quite out-

rageous. They are so steep that

British Gas is effectively say-

ing it wants none of its cus-

tomers by whose fixed price

contracts," one customer said.

British Gas said the

increases were forced by the

sharp jump in oil prices and

the volatility of the oil markets

after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The company has not yet

increased its prices directly as

a result of the Gulf crisis, since

its gas purchase costs tend to

lag behind changes in oil

markets by six-to-eight months.

It argued that a failure to

boost its fixed price contracts

would result in a sudden and

large move from oil to gas by

industry.

"That sort of large switch

isn't in our interest, we have

made our investment plans on

a different basis," a

spokesman for British Gas

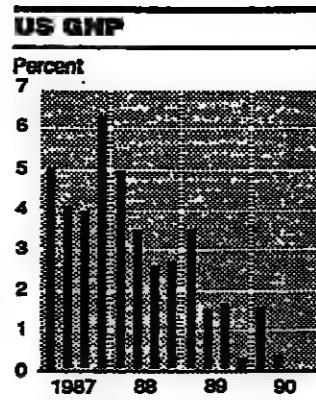
ECONOMICS

Transatlantic concerns now focus on recession

THE dreaded R-word - recession - will dominate discussion about economic conditions on both sides of the Atlantic this week.

Tomorrow, in a week full of US data, the administration publishes its first estimate of third quarter gross national product at a time when many commentators are convinced that the economy is already in recession.

The GNP second quarter figures were revised downwards sharply last month from a 1.2 per cent annualised advance to a minimal 0.4 per cent growth rate. Analysts polled by MMS International, the finance research company, include:



Today: UK final money supply statistics for September, 3rd quarter Bank of England home loans figures, US, third quarter housing advances. Germany, provisional cost of living figures.

Tomorrow: US, 3rd quarter GNP deflator (0.4 per cent), September new home sales, UK, September new vehicle registrations, Japan, September unemployment.

Wednesday: US, Federal Reserve beige book, September factory goods orders (0.4 per cent), personal income (up 0.5 per cent), consumer expenditure (up 0.8 per cent). Canada, August real GDP at factor cost (minus 0.3 per cent), September industrial producer price index (0.8 per cent). Japan, September housing starts (down 0.3 per cent on year). UK, National Economic Development Council meets.

Thursday: US, September construction spending, weekly money supply figures.

Friday: US, October non-farm payrolls (down 22,000), payroll ex-census (flat), manufacturing payrolls (down 35,000), hourly earnings (up 0.3 per cent), September industrial production indicators (down 0.9 per cent). Japan, September current account (separately adjusted minus \$1.17bn).

Other events and statistics, with median market forecasts

by MMS International, the finance research company, include:

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Peter Norman

UK COMPANIES

Market wary of M and S prospects

WEDNESDAY brings the interim results of Marks and Spencer, the high street clothing and food retailer. Worries that the company will warn of softer sales have prompted weakness in its share price recently.

As far as the figures for the half-year to end-September go, analysts expect an increase in pre-tax profits to £225m-230m, from £208m. Better systems will have minimised the damage caused by difficult conditions in the high street in the UK. But profits from the US Brooks Brothers men's outfitting business are likely to be down, being hit by the price war between US department stores.

Also on Wednesday in a very quiet week for results, Penner, the power transmission and conveyor belting company, is expected to announce an increase in pre-tax profits for the year ended August 30 to around £16m from £13.3m a year earlier. But growth in earnings per share will be around 5 per cent because of a rights issue.

The issue was meant to finance expansion in Europe but with the money largely unspent so far, interest will have helped bump up pre-tax profits.

In its transmission belt business, the outlook is stable-best. Growth will be hard to achieve in Europe and the buoyant South African market is well supplied by local products. At home, British Coal is closing pits and demand for coal is slackening.

■ WEDNESDAY
Commons: Lords amendments to the Environmental Protection Bill. Lords debate on the European Community Committee on Air Traffic Control on Civil Aviation in a free market. Question to government on the role of the Council of Europe in the construction of a wider Europe.
■ IN TOMORROW Commons: Lords amendments to the Environmental Protection Bill.

Lords: Broadcasting Bill, consideration of Commons amendments. Caledonian Island Bill, second reading and remaining stages. Motion on the British Nationality (Hong Kong) Selection Scheme Order 1990.

Select committee: Televising of Commons proceedings - subject: assistance for the deaf. Witnesses: Royal National Institute for the Deaf, British Deaf Association, Deaf Broadcasting Council and the broadcasting companies (Room 15, 5pm).

Lords: Environmental Protection Bill, Commons amendments.

Selected committee: Environment - subject, environmental effects of the destruction of the rain forests. Witnesses: Friends of the Earth and the World Wide Fund for Nature (Room 15, 10.30am).

Public Accounts - subject, Hermonseux Castle.

UK COMPANIES

TODAY

COMPANY MEETINGS:

Armour Trust, 100

BOARD MEETINGS:

Blacks Leisure

Channel Tunnel Inv.

Ensign Trust

Fleets

Gold Greenlease Trst.

Holiday Inn

Interims

Low (William)

Marks & Spencer

Mezzanine Cap. & Inc. Tst.

North St., Newport,

Officeholders

Officeholders</

FINANCIAL TIMES CONFERENCESWORLD ELECTRICITY
12 & 13 November - London

The Financial Times/Power in Europe World Electricity conference has established itself as Europe's leading forum for analysis and discussion of issues in the electricity business.

The dominant theme in this year's conference is the opening of electricity's protected markets; the breaking down of utility monopolies and the opportunities and risks which arise from bringing electricity within market disciplines. This is particularly appropriate as the conference will be held in the same month as the first of the UK's electricity privatisations, of the twelve distribution companies, takes place.

Mr Percy Barneveld, President and Chief Executive Officer of ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd will give the keynote address. The distinguished list of international speakers also includes Mr Yih-Hsui Chang of Taiwan Power Company; Mr Philippe Bodson of Electrabel; Dr Otto Majewski of Bayernwerk AG; Mr Alessandro Orsi of ENEL and M. Pierre Lederer of EDF.

EUROPEAN BUSINESS FORUM - BUSINESS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
26 & 27 November - Rome

Once every two years the Financial Times arranges a high-level European Business Forum in Rome. Developments in the Soviet Union and in Central and Eastern Europe will be the principal theme for this year's agenda. The conference will interpret political and economic developments and will provide an authoritative briefing on the prospects for manufacturers, bankers and other business leaders as the former Eastern Bloc economies open up.

Dr Guido Carli, Italian Treasury Minister has agreed, in principle, to give the keynote opening address on the political and economic scene in Europe over the next ten years and other contributors include: Ambassador Renato Ruggiero, Italian Foreign Trade Minister; Professor Ivan Ivanov, Soviet State Foreign Economic Commission; Dr Václav Klaus, Minister of Finance, Czechoslovakia; Mr Ferenc Réber, Hungarian Minister of Finance; Mr Viktor Geraschenko of Gosbank; Professor K Lukowski, Adviser to the Polish Finance Minister; Mr Horst Krenzler of the Commission of the European Communities; Dr Franco Nobili of IRI; Dr Axel Leibahn of Deutsche Bank; Ing Paolo Cantarella of Fiat Auto and Dr Sergio Sighieri of Banca Commerciale Italiana.

PETROCHEMICALS IN EUROPE - THE NEW SCENARIO
28 & 29 November - London

The Financial Times second Petrochemicals conference brings together a distinguished panel of top industry executives to debate the key issues of current concern. After seven years of strong growth, the international petrochemicals business enters the 1990s facing several pressures and a period of uncertainty and volatility. The conference will examine supply and demand, sustaining profitability, the challenges and opportunities in Eastern Europe and the impact of world oil prices on petrochemical operations. Mr Jim Gordon, Chemicals Co-ordinator of Shell International Chemical Company will deliver the opening address, and speakers taking part include: Mr Bryan Sanderson, Chief Executive Officer, BP Chemicals; Sir Denys Henderson, chairman of ICI; Mr Abdulaziz Ibrahim Al-Audah, President of Saudi Methanol Company; M. Jacques Puechal, President of Atochem; Mr Simon de Bree, Member of the Board of Managing Directors, NV DSM and Mr Hugo Lever, Director General of CEFIC.

All enquiries should be addressed to:
Financial Times Conference Organisation,
126 Jermyn Street, London SW1Y 4UJ
Tel: 071-925 2223 (24-hour answering service)
Telex: 27347 FT CONF G Fax: 071-925 2126

APPOINTMENTS**Moves at United Precision Industries**

■ UNITED PRECISION INDUSTRIES Newark, has appointed Mr Roy Hammond as group manufacturing director. He will relinquish his post as managing director of RHP's industrial bearings division, but will continue to oversee the group's engineering function until a director is appointed. He is succeeded by Mr Paul Stevenson and Mr Peter Wheldon as joint managing directors, with responsibility for supply and marketing respectively. Mr Wheldon will also be responsible for RHP's international division. Mr Bill Constance has been appointed deputy managing director of NSK-Europe responsible for sales and marketing. Mr Richard Knowles becomes company secretary of UPL. Mr John McAndrew is made finance director of RHP's industrial bearings division.

Mr Tom Fremantle has been appointed general manager, linear bearings, RHP's precision division. UPI is a subsidiary of NSK Japan.

■ Mr J. Michael Middlemass has joined the board of BARBICAN HOLDINGS as a non-executive director. He is a former senior partner of Touche Ross & Co.

■ Mr Roy Foster (pictured) has been appointed managing director of the European arm of UNITED STATES FLEET LEASING, a subsidiary of United States Leasing Inc, San Mateo, California, part of the Ford Financial Services Group. Mr Foster was marketing and sales director for Avis Europe Lease.

■ Mr David Harrison, Mr Mike Williams, and Mr Stephen White have been appointed directors of TMD ADVERTISING HOLDINGS.

■ Mr Roger K. White has been appointed sales director of

GIROBANK, a subsidiary of Alliance & Leicester Building Society, has appointed Mr Lewis J. Evans (pictured) as a deputy managing director. He was head of UK commercial banking, Lloyds Bank, and a director of Lloyds Development Capital, International Factors, and Alex Lawrie.

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MANAGEMENT

Poised to exploit polyglot talents

A Viennese legal firm aims to help companies bridge the cultural divide between west and east Europe. Judy Dempsey reports

"I remember when my father used to take his business colleagues to the frontier. All of a sudden, without warning, the road stopped. Then they saw the barbed-wire fences. I hated that world. I did not go there. I hated those borders."

Those dark days are finally over for Michael Goriany, the joint partner of Goriany, Jakobievich & Partner, one of Vienna's largest law firms.

The offices, located on the fourth floor of an elegant 19th century building in the centre of the capital, is now a hub of activity. And no wonder; the opening up of eastern Europe is giving the law firm opportunities to exploit its talents.

"First and foremost, all the reforms, especially privatisation, require communication. I do not mean knowledge of the languages. I mean understanding the mentality of the people emerging from four decades of communist rule."

Goriany believes that the kind of knowledge of, and demands made by, his western clients, are simply "too sophisticated. They have the technology, the information, the know-how at their fingertips. Their east European counterparts have had none of these instruments, neither in the past, nor even today."

This is where his firm's strengths come into their own. "As lawyers, it is our task to reduce that sophistication. Sometimes, it requires going over the same contract five times as a means of bridging the two worlds. Each side must understand how both perceive the text, the terms, the conditions."

For various reasons, Goriany and his colleagues - Croats and Hungarians, Slovaks and Czechs, Austrians and British - are well equipped to fulfil this role.

The firm, which has a staff of 20 - minuscule by British standards but large by Austrian ones - is in the enviable position of employing native speakers, not surprising given that almost half the names in Vienna's telephone directory are Czech.

Jakobievich's family is originally from Croatia. Géza Simonfy, another partner, is from Hungary. They all have relatives and friends in central Europe. Thus, they have inherited the culture of this part of Europe and have imbibed the memories, perceptions and sentiments of the native peoples.

Goriany's father, a Slovene, who was born near Zagreb in Croatia, Yugoslavia, joined the Military Academy in Vienna during the First Austrian Republic, which was formed after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in 1918.

After the Second World War, Goriany senior remained in Austria, worked at petrol-filling stations, and made his way up to become director of Mobil Oil's operations in Austria. Sometimes he took visiting colleagues to the country's eastern borders. All they could see was barbed-wire and border patrols.

The young Goriany, who was born in Austria in 1944, but who regularly revisits his roots in Croatia, studied law in Vienna, worked for 12 years with, and became a partner of, the law firm, Grohs and Hofer. In 1988, he set up his own office with the aim of opening up contacts with central Europe.

"Although our legal traditions may be similar, you must remember that Czech lawyers have had no opportunity to practice law for the past 40 years in the sense that they could not deal with foreign law offices. As a result, today, they have no idea how to proceed with contracts. That is one of our tasks: to help them deal with the outside world."

He explains how psychological factors could inhibit such progress and contacts. Even in Hungary, which embarked on economic reforms several years ago, Goriany says that the pervasive fear which characterised communist rule has been replaced by another: fear of the unknown.

"The people do not know what is expected of them. All the rules of the game have changed. Nobody knows what their new role is. It was all cut



The elegant offices in Vienna house a staff of Croats, Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Austrians and Britons

and dried under the old system. But now, with the market economy, people are beginning to realise that it will be very difficult. That is why we must co-operate with them and build up their confidence."

His office in Vienna conveys this sense of a special relationship with the capitals of eastern Europe. Thanks to the changes in eastern Europe, one of the law assistants commutes by boat every day from Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, which is only 80 kilometres from Vienna.

Another of his assistants gives Hungarian lessons to one of the British lawyers. It is possible to do business in Budapest in a day. The early train leaves Vienna at 5am, arrives at 11 and returns to Vienna at 5pm. Goriany points out that Vienna is closer to Budapest than to Salzburg.

Yet despite the remarkable changes in eastern Europe, the Austrian public, and indeed the establishment, have been slow to respond positively to the new political atmosphere.

Goriany recalls when earlier this year he was invited to give a lecture in Budapest. "I described the firm as having offices in Vienna and Bud-

apest. A few days later, a committee within the Law Kommer (Association) criticised me for advertising the fact that we had an office in Budapest. They said it was unfair competition!" Goriany says by describing his firm in that way, all he had wanted to do was to grant Budapest a similar status to Vienna and inspire confidence among his Hungarian colleagues.

"I was furious about the Kommer's reaction. I suppose the point is that in Austria, a joyful laziness prevails over the fight for progress. Because we easily accept authority, we are not innovative. We do not criticise or speak out. Titles and bureaucracy stand in the way of change."

But as an optimist, he believes the climate in Vienna is changing. Law firms from other countries in western Europe can now set up in Austria. The pull from the European Community and the integration of the Single Market in 1992 is shaking Austrians out of their lethargy.

Goriany hopes that enthusiasm for the changes taking place in the east will blossom among Austrians. His firm has planted the first seeds.

Quality in Spain

A step in the right direction

By Marina Specht and James McCarthy

Spain has a quality problem. The cost of defective products and services in an average Spanish company is equivalent to 20 per cent of sales, compared with 5 per cent in west Germany and Japan, according to estimates from Gestión y Control de Calidad (GCC), a Valencia-based quality consulting firm. In the US, it is 10 per cent of GNP.

Poor quality of service is so strongly rooted in Spain that Spaniards have even invented the word *chapuzas* to describe the thousands of mistakes made every day through negligence and lack of rigorous application.

Nowhere has *chapuzas* gained more international recognition than in tourism, Spain's biggest industry. Spain used to be Europe's holiday playground, offering cheap holidays to masses of foreigners. But it has become expensive. As a result, tourist revenues dropped 8.5 per cent in the first half of 1990 - in June alone they were 22.5 per cent up on last year.

"The main reason for the current crisis is the poor price-quality ratio," admits Ignacio Fuero, Spain's chief tourism official. Since prices are not going to fall, "the only solution is to improve the quality."

The picture is not all bad. Spain's entry into the EC and the prospect of the single market in 1992 have increased Spanish businessmen's awareness of the quality problem. "A growing number of Spanish companies are currently implementing quality improvement programmes for the first time," says José Luis Villa de la Torre, head of the service sector branch of the Spanish Quality Association (AEC).

In Valencia, GCC began earlier this year to hold workshops for the local hotel industry, sponsored by the city's tourism board. The goal is to improve service quality in the hotels of the programme's 200 participants.

"The employees have to be trained to understand the purpose of the systems we're implementing," says Pedro Roque, general manager of GCC. As for the hotel owners, "they have to understand that the goal of a hotel is not only to make money, but to deliver a good service."

Not all efforts, though, seem to bearing fruit. Banco Bilbao Vizcaya (BBV), the country's biggest private bank, was the first Spanish bank to appoint, in 1986, an ombudsman to arbitrate on customer complaints, and a year earlier established a "quality circle" programme which today comprises some 100 circles made up of 1,000 bank employees.

"They voluntarily meet in small groups to address a quality improvement issue of their own choosing," says Alfonso Herrero, human resources director at BBV. Another 1,000 employees are involved in the bank's "quality committees".

Despite these efforts, "the quality of service at BBV has declined dramatically since the merger of Banco de Bilbao and Banco de Vizcaya in 1988," maintains Luis María Huete, a professor of quality management at the IESE business school in Barcelona.

Little to do with national culture

However, with increasing competition from foreign institutions, Spanish bank clients are beginning to notice that all is not as it should be. The financial services sector is booming, but complaints against financial institutions in 1989 increased by 34 per cent over the previous year, according to a report issued annually by the Bank of Spain. BBV topped the list.

Lance Arrington, president of quality management consultants, Philip Crosby, maintains that the quality picture in Spain has little to do with national culture but all to do with bad management. "The Spaniards will simply have to use good management to solve their business problems."

The story of Peugeot Talbot's auto plant in Villaverde, near Madrid, suggests that this is so. Until six years ago, only 18 per cent of the vehicles which left the assembly line were free from defects. Today, between 92 and 98 per cent are free of errors. In addition, customer complaints have dropped by 40 per cent in the past four years.

Peugeot's Spanish plant now

not only do foreign management consultants believe that Spain has a service quality problem, but so does the Spanish consumer. A recent study by GTR, a local market research firm, reported that almost two-thirds of all Spaniards doubted their national industry's ability to compete in the common market. The most negative evaluation came from the 18 to 29 age group: 69 per cent described the competitive ability of Spanish business as "quite bad" or "very bad".

"For many years this was a seller's market," says Zwanzig. "Now there is less demand, so quality must improve." As Spanish consumers become more critical and sophisticated, they are forcing businesses to raise their standards. After all, one way to improve the quality of products and services that you buy is to complain about them.

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Much the same as us no doubt. Weekend FT's Stuart Marshall was on the starting grid for European Car of the Year - and the race is on. Edmund Penning-Roswell nosed out a really fine vintage for clarets - 1990, no less. Nicholas Lander lunched out on a business budget. Clive

What did you get up to this Weekend?

Fewins discovered a successful small business being carved out of stone. Lucia van der Post slipped into silky Sea Island Cotton. Michael Thompson-Noel teed off on a round of the world's golf holidays. Susan Moore and Antony Thorncroft tripped to Italy to sort out their Carpaccios from their carpaccios ... and so it went on.

If your weekend was a little less colourful pick up a copy of the Weekend FT next Saturday and join us.

Weekend FT

LEGAL COLUMN

Bar counts cost of changes

By Robert Rice, Legal Correspondent

THE Bar's report on Strategies for the Future, published last week, urges barristers to make further radical changes to the organisation and administration of their chambers to keep the bar independent into the next century.

Taken in the abstract, such exhortations to change, coming so soon after the Mackay reforms, may prove difficult for many barristers to swallow. Many of the detailed recommendations for change (open market rents for chambers, marketing programmes, computerisation and financial support for pupils and junior tenants) look on the surface like involving them in considerable extra expenditure without any immediately obvious benefit.

Statements in the report to the effect that "the costs associated with these changes should not be regarded as expenses, but as an investment in the future which will yield positive returns" are unlikely to carry much weight with a profession made up of independent sole practitioners.

With the aid of Coopers & Lybrand Deloitte, the accountancy firm, the report offers financial models in support of its arguments for change.

At the end of 1988, Coopers carried out a survey of the organisational and economic implications of running 17 sets of chambers chosen to achieve a cross-section of practice, size and location.

Coopers was able to draw up financial models of the average net income before tax of all junior barristers participating in the survey and to show how that net income improved in proportion to the degree to which the changes recommended by the report were implemented. QCs were excluded.

The average net income before tax of all survey participants, weighted according to practice area, seniority and location in the same proportions as the Bar as a whole, was £30,000.

If the participants were to practise in chambers with 25 members or more, spend in excess of 75 per cent of their time in one area of law, focus on clients with clearly identifiable needs and locate themselves in provincial centres as close as possible to the source of their work, average net income would rise to £38,000.

The two tables give a more detailed breakdown of the Coopers financial models.

The first table gives model examples of how an average junior barrister in each of the main practice areas contributes to the costs of running chambers at present. The models are derived from examples of the most efficient chambers in the survey.

The net income figures in the first table assume that the first set of recommended changes relating to increased specialisation and regionalisation have been put into practice.

The second table shows the effects of the recommended changes on barristers' net incomes after taking into account Coopers' tentative esti-

mates of the benefits to income of computerisation, marketing and paying pupils (trainees) and junior tenants.

The net incomes shown in the second table are the sum of some net increase in barristers' costs resulting from the changes proposed to chambers' operating arrangements and the benefits to income that result from the changes.

Model of Individual Barrister's Income and Expenditure by Practice Area (Based on present cost structure of highest performing chambers in C&D's survey - excluding QCs)

Practice Area	Civil £	Crime £	Civil/Crime £	Commercial £	Specialist £	Weighted Average £
Net Income (before tax)	46,400	35,200	30,700	51,800	51,500	38,000
Turnover	75,000	60,000	50,000	80,000	80,000	62,400
Contribution to Chambers' Costs (as % of turnover)	12,700	10,700	7,800	13,200	13,200	10,300
Personal Practice Expenses (as % of turnover)	16.9%	17.6%	15.6%	16.5%	17.0%	16.8%
Pensions at 17.5% of turnover less expenses*	8,000	6,800	5,000	4,000	4,000	5,800
Components of Chambers' Costs						
Senior Clerk	3,980	3,190	2,850	4,220	4,230	3,520
Junior Clerk and other staff	2,920	2,340	1,850	3,100	3,110	2,440
Rent	2,420	1,520	1,880	2,450	2,880	1,970
Rates	380	230	270	200	320	250
Floor Area sq ft	[178]	[91]	[115]	[200]	[240]	[134]
Other costs	3,000	3,420	1,070	3,050	3,080	2,480

*Percentage taken at the lowest level. Is for barristers aged 35 or less, after which time, personal pension contributions may be made at a higher percentage, which would produce lower net income before tax.

Model of Individual Barrister's Income and Expenditure by Practice Area (Based on proposed restructuring - excluding QCs)

Practice Area	Civil £	Crime £	Civil/Crime £	Commercial £	Specialist £	Weighted Average £
Net Income (before tax)	55,100	38,000	33,700	62,000	61,800	42,500
Turnover	91,000	69,000	61,300	97,400	96,900	74,000
Contribution to Chambers' costs (as % of turnover)	16,900	15,400	14,300	17,400	17,300	15,800
Personal Practice expenses (as % of turnover)	16.6%	22.3%	23.3%	17.5%	17.5%	21.4%
Pensions at 17.5% of turnover less expenses*	7,300	7,800	6,100	4,800	4,800	6,700
Components of chambers' costs						
Administrative staff	3,440	3,770	3,840	3,880	3,880	3,780
Rent	3,800	2,480	3,000	3,870	4,860	3,180
Rates	480	250	220	440	350	320
Marketing	2,000	510	1,880	2,490	2,200	1,450
Pupils	1,850	2,040	1,970	1,470	1,470	1,920
Junior Tenants	1,830	1,650	1,950	1,150	1,180	1,530
Computerisation	780	970	940	700	700	810
Other costs	3,310	3,760	1,180	3,570	3,570	2,710

*Percentage taken at the lowest level.



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FINANCIAL TIMES SURVEY

SEYCHELLES

Monday October 29 1990

The economy needs outside investment if it is to grow further. Page 2

Tourism's importance cannot be overstated. A new approach. Page 3



An untapped lucrative Economic Exclusion Zone and a harsher economic climate in the 1990s have prompted a thaw towards outside investors by the socialist one-party regime. Michael Holman reviews the issues facing both the Seychellois and foreign business

Potential in a paradise

ONE OF the world's most idyllic holiday destinations also has the good fortune to enjoy the barely tapped potential of a 13m sq km Exclusive Economic Zone, where the fish harvest is bountiful and which just may include oil in commercial quantities.

After nearly 15 years of ambivalence about the merits of the foreign investor, the government of the Seychelles appears to have decided that it needs more help to realise the potential. Capital, technological know-how and skills are required by a micro-state of only 70,000 residents, nearly all of whom live on the three main islands. Another 112 smaller islands make up the Seychelles archipelago in the western Indian Ocean.

By the end of this year, says Mr James Michel, the minister of finance, the government will have completed its review of an investment incentive code, drafted by the islands' Federation of Employers Association as representatives of the private sector. There are, says Mr Michel, "no substantial differences of opinion" over the draft. If approved by government it could become law in the first half of next year.

Several sectors of the

islands' economy would then be more attractive to outside investors: the growing tourist business, where the government intends to reduce or sell off its share in a hotel chain; the expansion of Port Victoria, already providing a thriving bunkering facility for Indian Ocean fishing vessels, where a dry dock is planned; and the increase of the Seychelles fishing fleet, together with more local processing of the catch.

The oil sector, where a round of exploratory drilling starts next year, is already covered by a model agreement offering joint venture terms.

Whether this vision of the future becomes reality will depend to a great extent on one man: President France Albert René, who has dominated Seychelles' politics since taking power in a coup barely a year after independence in 1977, and who established a one-party state in 1978.

He can rightly claim credit for some considerable economic achievements since independence. But policies which for the most part served the Seychelles well in the first decade now require review, while regional and international developments make his one-party system look increasingly anachronistic.

In speeches in the course of this year Mr René has continued to wave the banner of one-party socialism. This might well be rhetoric, for economic changes are in fact under way. And only last week Mr René hinted at the possibility of a referendum on the merits of the single-party system.

But the first critical test of the president's willingness fully to implement the reforms that are needed will be the fate of the draft investment code.

Apart from being ahead of his time in putting environmental protection policies into effect, Mr René can point to other notable achievements on infant mortality rates and the literacy rate.

Per capita income last year exceeded US\$4,000, and annual growth in real terms has averaged around 5 per cent since 1983. The citizens of the Seychelles have certainly enjoyed a far higher standard of living

than any other member of the Organisation of African Unity. It is not detracting from these achievements to say that they were made when times and circumstances were comparatively easier.

Aid money was more readily available, for example. The Seychelles' very success, set against the demands of impoverished Africa and claims from eastern Europe, makes grants or concessionary finance less forthcoming.

External debt servicing has reached 15 per cent of export earnings, while free education and health services are a growing strain on the budget.

Growth in the tourist sector, the mainstay of the economy, was measured by numbers, now at record levels; today the task is to improve management of the sector, and raise resources for long overdue reinvestment in order to match tough regional competition.

The state-owned corpora-

tions — many of which do not publish publicly available accounts — still dominate the economy amid allegations of inefficiency and bureaucracy.

The skills shortage, always acute and exacerbated by emigration, is now a serious constraint on growth.

Critics of President René, who won a third and probably final five-year term in office in mid-year elections in 1989, have yet to be convinced that he has come to terms with the ideological shift that must now be made. The president has shrugged off events in Eastern Europe as of little relevance to the Seychelles. And in a speech last June Mr René said he had no intention of changing the one party system. Defending what is called "the socialist revolution" the president said: "I... would prefer to die than abandon our struggle."

By the standards of most "socialist revolutions", the Seychelles' version has been restrained. A foreign policy of non-alignment has not banished a US satellite tracking station on Mahé, the main island, nor visits by British and US navy vessels. The creation of some 30 state-owned corporations in the mid-1980s did not make life impossible for the private sector, although it was demoralising.

The Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) has continued to the "socialist revolution" model in one respect, however. Even since the coup that overthrew President James Mancham, it has exerted its authority with a heavy — though usually not brutal — hand.

Mr Mancham, now in exile, had led the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) to a narrow victory in the 1974 general election, winning 21,902 votes to the 19,520 cast for Mr René's Seychelles People's United Party, predecessor to today's sole ruling party. A coalition

government led by Mr Mancham as president, with Mr René as prime minister, celebrated independence in 1976.

A year later Mr René's supporters staged a coup while Mr Mancham was attending the Commonwealth Conference.

Debate and opposition was immediately stifled. The government's sense of vulnerability was reinforced when a group of South African mercenaries, pretending to be a rugby club on an outing, launched an unsuccessful coup attempt in November 1981.

The threat from South Africa continued to lurk in the background during a troubled period. An army mutiny in August 1982, several subsequent coup plots, and the assassination in London in November 1985 of an exiled opposition leader did nothing to reduce tensions.

Yet change in Seychelles is under way and President René himself has set it in motion.

After last June's elections, he reversed the process which had concentrated power in his hands. He expanded his cabinet from seven to 10 members, surrendering portfolios he previously held himself, including ministry of finance.

At the same time, it became clear that while the party had no intention of loosening its stranglehold on power, officials were prepared to tolerate — indeed, encourage — debate.

The government also gave way on a previously sacrosanct issue. From next year a two-year compulsory and costly youth training programme will be cut to 12 months, and some observers suspect it may be abolished altogether.

In the same mid-year speech in which he re-asserted his commitment to the one-party, socialist state, the president also announced efforts to make the Seychelles a more open society and state-owned institutions more accountable.

"We must be honest with ourselves and change whatever is necessary," he said. Government should listen to "stincere" criticism.

Mr Michel is as enthusiastic as any in putting these sentiments into practice. He promises an overhaul of the state-owned companies and speaks of the "very important role" the private sector can play.

IN THIS SURVEY

Economy: The era of soft development options has ended

Related surveys Page 2

Tourism: It's not the number of visitors, which is satisfactory, so much as how much they spend once they are here

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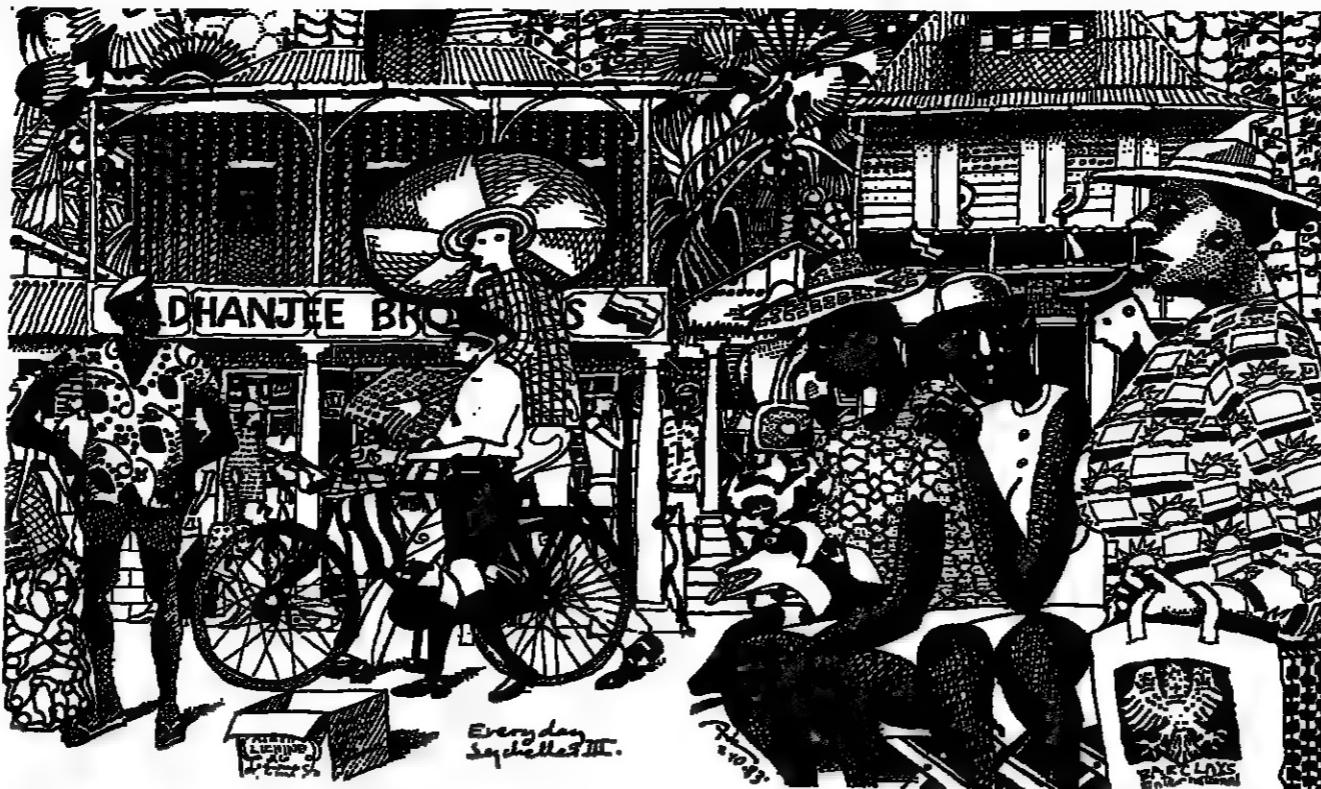
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Business Guide: Finding your way around, from chief ministries to courier services, including telephone numbers Page 4

All articles in the survey were written by Michael Holman



Impression of the Seychelles: the figures are based on local personalities. Artist Michael Adams has worked here since 1974

Everyday Seychelles III.

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Illustration by Michael Adams

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Michael Adams is a painter and printmaker

and a former resident of the Seychelles

He now lives in London and paints

and prints in the Seychelles

and in London

He has exhibited in London

and in the Seychelles

and has had solo exhibitions

in London and the Seychelles

He has also had group exhibitions

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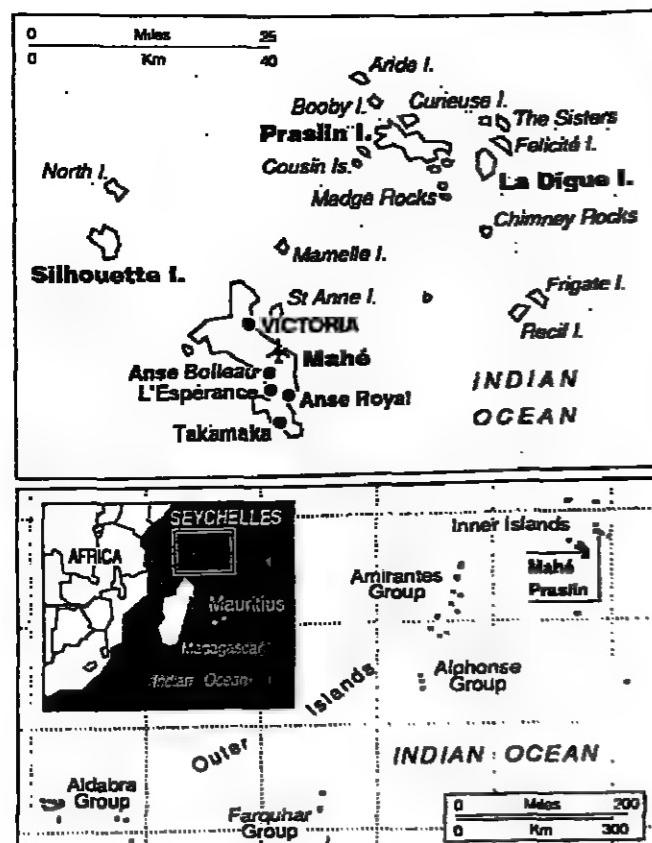
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SEYCHELLES 2



KEY FACTS	
Area	404 sq km
Population	70,000 (1988 estimate)
Head of State	President France Albert René
Currency	Rupee
Average Exch Rate	1988 US\$1 = R5.38 1989 US\$1 = R5.65
ECONOMY	
1988	1989
Total GDP (US\$bn)	265.7
Real GDP growth (%)	6.0
GDP per capita (US\$)	3795
Current Account Balance (US\$bn)	-28.4
Exports (US\$bn)	17.3
Imports (US\$bn)	135.0
Trade Balance (US\$bn)	-117.7
Visitor arrivals (000s)	77.4
Tourism earnings (US\$bn)	81.7
Total external debt (US\$bn)	189.1
Debt service ratio (%)	7.6
Consumer prices (% change pa)	1.7
Total reserves minus gold (US\$bn)	8.7
* estimates	
Source: IMF, Economist Intelligence Unit	

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THE ERA of soft development options has ended for the Seychelles, and more challenging times lie ahead.

Aid money is harder to come by, for example, and the islands' external debt service payments are now uncomfortably high. New sources of foreign exchange other than tourism and fishing must be found, and while the benefits of what President Albert René calls "a welfare state" have been considerable, the costs are proving increasingly demanding.

"Things are not going to be as easy," acknowledges Mr James Michel, the minister of finance and deputy secretary general of the ruling Seychelles People's Progressive Front.

"We will have to tighten our belts a bit, and consume less, especially luxury items, but the foundations for continued development are in place. Good social services, tourism and fishing, and new projects such as prawn farming are under way. But we realise it's time to stand on our own two feet."

Given the islands' considerable progress since independence in 1976, and the economy's potential for growth, together with government's greater encouragement of the private sector, the 1990s could well be as successful as the 1980s.

The "soft" path was by no means easy for a micro state of more than 100 scattered Indian Ocean islands.

Nonetheless, several factors smoothed the way. Given the idyllic nature of the destination, it is not surprising that the tourist sector has grown rapidly.

At the same time, the economy coped with a comparatively modest level of training in its labour force. Aid and finance on concessionary terms was fairly readily available. Post-independence development objectives concentrated on essential improvements to the infrastructure and the pro-

tection of basic needs in health, education, housing and social services.

However, there are signs of more demanding times to come in the "hard option" era. The tourist sector must now strive for quality rather than quantity, while an overdue renovation programme will strain government resources, even with involvement of the private sector and foreign investors.

There has always been a skills shortage here, exacerbated by emigration. But it is now a more serious constraint on development.

Meanwhile aid sources are more difficult to find. Faced by competing demands from mainland Africa, not to mention eastern Europe, donors look askance at requests from a country whose per capita income of around US\$4,000 is many times that of most other countries in the region.

Traditional exports, such as copra, have slumped, and the agriculture sector may be undermined by labour drifting to better paying jobs.

Meanwhile, the country's external debt service ratio reached 19 per cent this year, and will be about the same next year - because of a bunching of maturities, not profligate spending.

Servicing domestic borrowing reached a record R147m in 1989, compared to R83m in 1986. The cost of the welfare state is starting to tell. Education and health spending took up 47 per cent of current spending in the 1988 budget.

The tourist sector is the main foreign exchange earner. It has seen visitor rise from 55,000 in 1977, the year after independence, to a forecast 100,000 this year. At the same time, the environment has been rigorously protected.

A free health service has dramatically benefited the nation's health: the infant mortality rate has been nearly halved from 32 per 1,000 live births in 1977, and has pushed life expectancy at birth to nearly 70. The entitlement to nine years of free education from the age of six has raised



The port of Victoria: the dry dock, one of the projects listed by finance minister James Michel, will add to its already lucrative role as a service and supply centre

ECONOMY: new sources of foreign exchange and investment are required

Challenges the government must face as harder options emerge

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS (R million)					
1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	
CURRENT ACCOUNT, NET	-132.5	-205.2	-118.3	-152.6	-180.8
Goods, services, and income, net	-228.8	-275.8	-235.3	-281.8	-330.2
Of which:					
Tourism income	329.9	341.8	374.0	433.1	515.0
Exports	33.1	27.4	44.9	79.2	92.8
Re-exports	165.2	87.8	77.6	78.7	96.5
Marine and port charges	19.2	19.2	20.0	20.7	25.4
Imports	597.0	562.2	536.8	726.1	784.9
Freight and insurance	105.7	97.8	95.1	128.6	138.9
Foreign travel	85.1	86.1	66.9	70.8	96.5
Interest: receipts	11.4	9.7	11.8	12.6	14.8
payments	23.8	25.0	45.4	47.3	45.4
Transfers, net	96.4	70.3	119.0	128.7	148.4
Of which:					
Official grants	84.2	86.0	105.0	125.0	136.8
Fishing licence fees	18.0	16.0	27.0	26.8	37.8
CAPITAL ACCOUNT, NET	117.6	206.9	106.4	106.8	179.2
Official loans, net*	109.2	192.0	20.9	15.0	75.4
Commercial bank's assets	0.6	3.8	6.9	5.0	26.0
Private capital, net	7.8	51.7	78.6	93.9	77.8
CURRENT and CAPITAL ACCOUNT, NET	-14.9	1.7	-6.9	-45.9	-1.8

*This compares drawings net of repayments by the Central Government, Central Bank and other public sector organisations

EXPORTS (R million/metric tons)					
1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	
Copra	1,832	2,382	2,270	1,138	891
Quantity	7,556	9,361	3,211	2,855	2,500
Value	7.55	9.36	3.21	2.85	2.50
Cinnamon Bark	794	1,135	481	239	243
Quantity	2,422	2,811	1,571	1,068	1,388
Value	7.53	9.70	4.82	3.88	3.76
Frozen/fresh fish	10,588	8,783	8,071	12,311	13,122
Quantity	10,588	8,783	8,071	12,311	13,122
Value	8.78	8.07	12.31	13.12	13.12
Canned tuna	—	—	1,290	4,019	3,075
Quantity	—	—	20,755	56,555	43,855
Value	—	—	20,755	56,555	43,855
Other exports**	1,322	1,461	2,331	2,911	6,944

*Includes figures for copra

**Includes figures for tobacco

cent has pushed per capita income to over US\$4,000.

On the fiscal and budgetary front, Mr Michel - whose influence may be reinforced by the fact that he doubled as chief of staff of the island's armed forces - says he intends to keep a tight rein.

External debt servicing has peaked at 19 per cent, will drop slightly next year, and then fall steadily. The target of R83m for the 1990 budget deficit - 5 per cent of GDP - should be realistic, he says: "Our aim is to achieve a balanced budget by 1992 at the latest."

Mr Michel rules out the introduction of charges for health and education services, but promises "more efficiency, less wastage" - as well as noting the financial savings from reducing the two-year Youth Training Scheme to 12 months. Effectively compulsory, and inculcating the merits of Seychelles-style socialism, it has not been very popular anyway.

He also pledges a radical overhaul of the state sector, whether opening up the government-owned hotel chain to the private sector, or subjecting the accounts of state owned corporations to greater scrutiny.

Turning to Seychelles export potential, Mr Michel lists projects under way, in the pipeline, or on the drawing board.

The prawn farm and flower nursery (see Page 3) are set to become substantial foreign exchange earners; a dry dock will add to Victoria's already lucrative role as a service and supply centre; more Seychelles ships will reap the rich fish harvest in the island's vast

Per capita yearly income is more than US\$4,000

literacy rates to 85 per cent. Roads on the main island, Mahe (home for nearly 90 per cent of the population), are excellent, public transport is

reliable, and there are no slums. Inflation has been kept to low single figures, and government controlled marketing and supply agencies have made sure that imported staples are always available, at a stable price.

An average annual GDP growth rate of around 6 per

cent has pushed per capita income to over US\$4,000. On the fiscal and budgetary front, Mr Michel - whose influence may be reinforced by the fact that he doubled as chief of staff of the island's armed forces - says he intends to keep a tight rein.

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The private sector has a very important role in revitalising the economy, and providing a dynamic input," declares Mr Michel. "There are opportunities for the foreign investor - in hotels, for example, and we guarantee fair treatment."

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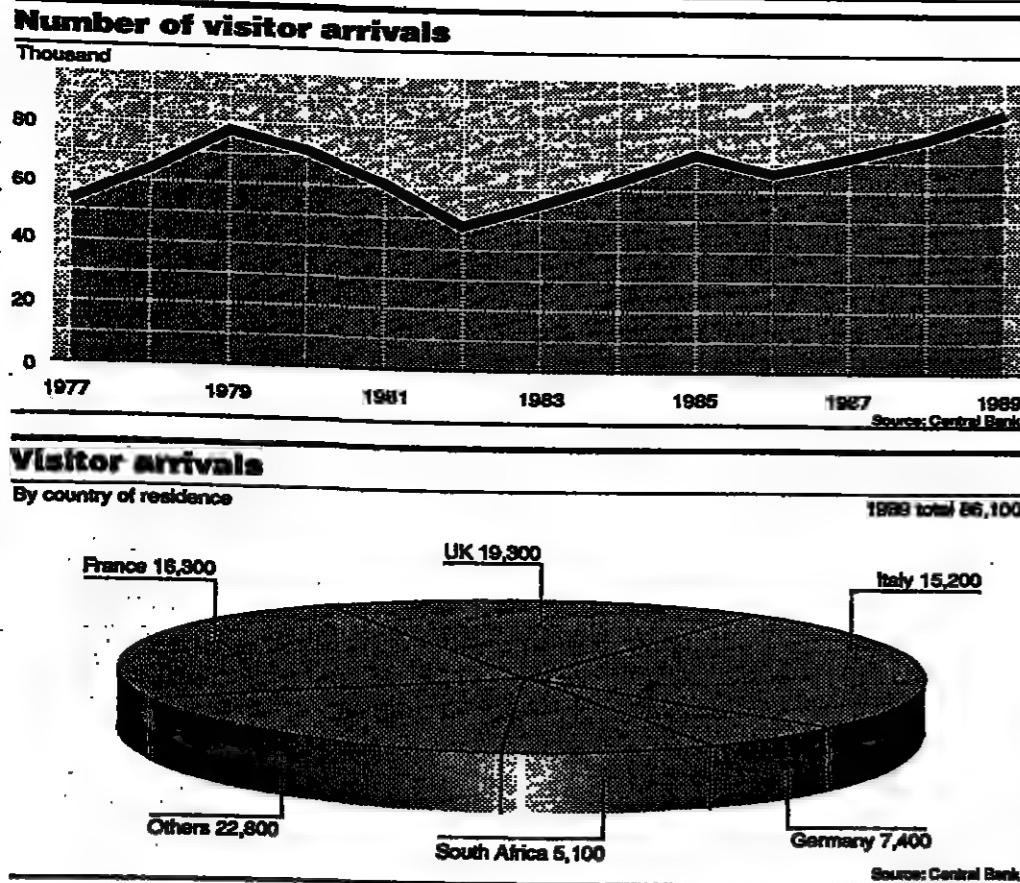
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SEYCHELLES 3

TOURISM: a new priority is the quality rather than quantity of visitors

Changes to the holiday chemistry



WITH VISITORS set to reach the record level of 100,000 this year and their per diem expenditure rising, the Seychelles tourist sector is blossoming.

Since the island's traditional European market is well served by international air carriers, as well as the national airline, Air Seychelles - which is also starting to tap the Japanese market - the growth should be sustained.

It is too early to tell whether the Gulf crisis will affect the tourist sector - but it is a possibility.

Scope for expansion lies partly in more hotel beds. A new 120-room hotel is planned for Mahé, and a 90-room hotel on Praslin will be completed next year - bringing the three main islands (La Digue is the third) close to the government limit of 4,000 beds.

Visitors from cruise liners are also increasing, with at least 17 ships expected in the coming months, while the British owned Air Europe will soon operate on the Milan-Mahé route, say Seychelles officials.

There are also high hopes for

South Africa. The Republic is already the fifth largest tourist source, but aggressive marketing in a post-apartheid South Africa would see the figure rise, officials believe.

The main challenges for the industry, however, are not how to lure more visitors. They are to persuade them to spend more money on local entertainment and artifacts; to cut the sector's high consumption of foreign exchange; and to find ways to improve the standards at several of the older hotels, where renovation is overdue.

The importance of the sector can hardly be overstated. It has been the leading foreign exchange earner for the past two decades (Rs21.8m in 1989, from 86,000 visitors) and is the largest single source of work, accounting for 15 and 20 per cent of employment.

Underpinning government planning for the sector is a determination to ensure that the environment is not damaged by the influx of visitors. Hence the calling of 4,000 hotel beds for the three most popular islands, and an annual limit of around 100,000 visitors, although the figure is flexible (currently there are around 3,500 beds available).

As Mr Maurice Loutau-Lalanne, principal secretary in the ministry of tourism points out, the shorter the stay, the greater the numbers of visitors that can be accommodated over the year.

The average length of holiday visit is falling, from a little over 11 days in 1984 to just over 10 days.

As efforts to tie the Seychelles to the Indian Ocean holiday network of Mauritius, Comoros and Kenya bring results, a higher proportion of holidaymakers will be visiting the Seychelles on their way to or from another destination.

They also maintain that it is largely an inherited problem.

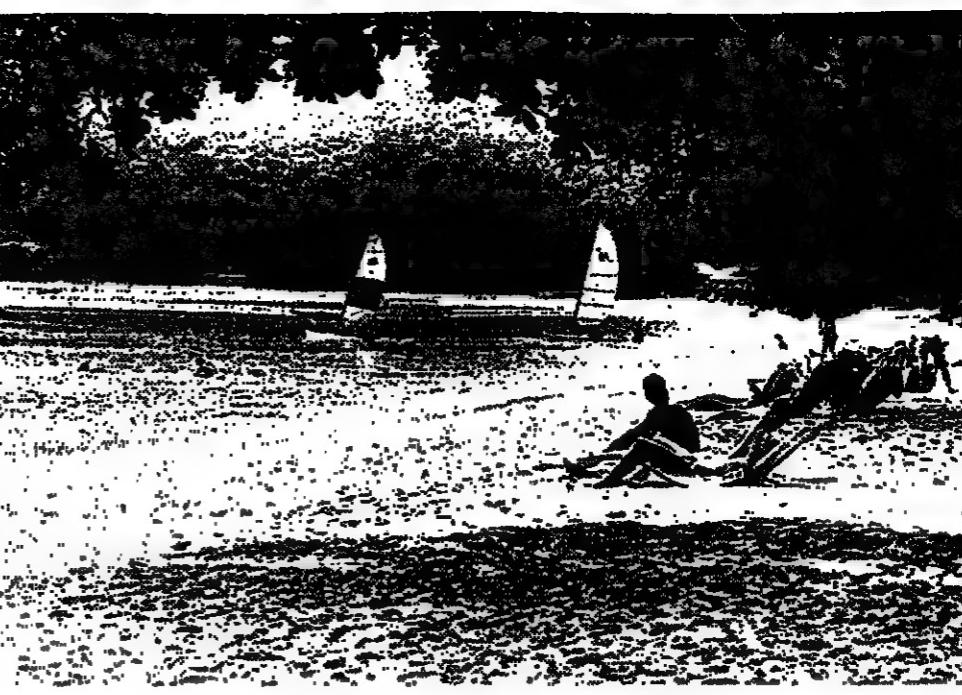
The establishment of the chain in 1986 was prompted in part

by the tourist slump in the early 1980s, when visitors fell to 47,000 in 1982.

With a shorter average stay, says Mr Loutau-Lalanne, the islands could handle 140,000 visitors a year.

In the meantime, however, officials acknowledge that the overall hotel standards must improve if Seychelles is to keep its place as an upmarket destination in the face of regional and international competition.

Around 10 per cent of the visitors return to the islands, according to a survey conducted last year. It should be



Beach scene: government policy has protected the Seychelles' idyllic environment

more than twice that, says Mr Norbert Jacq, the director general of tourism.

Part of the reason, according to the two officials, is that the "hotel chemistry - the combination of quality, price, and service - is not quite right."

The worst offenders are found among the hotels in the government-owned Seychelles Hotels chain, as government officials readily acknowledge.

They also maintain that it is largely an inherited problem. The establishment of the chain in 1986 was prompted in part

by the tourist slump in the early 1980s, when visitors fell to 47,000 in 1982.

Although business picked up, the government maintained that state intervention in such a critical sector had been necessary. Hotels that came under the state umbrella were, say government officials, being neglected by private sector owners who were reluctant to re-invest and renovate ageing assets.

The private sector replies that re-investment would have taken place had the government committed itself to an investment code.

choices of restaurants, water sports, game fishing and boating, glass-bottom boats for marine viewing, and expanding golf and tennis facilities.

But the prime growth area identified is sales of souvenirs and local products such as spices, herbs, coconut products and cottage industry items such as mother of pearl buttons and model boats.

The task of reducing the sector's consumption of foreign exchange is likely to prove more difficult. Most of the infrastructure and services associated with tourism, ranging from cars and buses to liquor, will always have to be imported.

But officials hope that the food import bill might be reduced. Current production of fruit and vegetables is continuing to fall behind tourist-led demand, and imports of these items rose nearly 10 per cent last year.

Generally poor soil and the fact that agriculture has become less rewarding than work in other sectors, make it likely that the gap between demand and supply will prove hard to close.

INDUSTRY PROFILES

Two foreign exchange earners

ALTHOUGH TOURISM is likely to be the mainstay of the Seychelles economy for the foreseeable future, two projects in particular illustrate the government's attempts to broaden the foreign exchange earning base.

One is the construction of a nursery of orchids and other flowers, destined for the markets of Europe and the Middle East. Managing the Rs12m scheme is the state-owned company Indian Ocean Nursery.

After experiments in 1986, a site was prepared at Barbezons, on the west coast of Mahé, last year. Exports of anthurium - a reddish-pink flower - and orchids from the two hectares under cultivation got under way last October.

Clear waters, cyclone-free conditions and the fine climate provide a near perfect environment. Under the pilot project which began in mid-1988, four cultivation ponds were constructed, together with a sea-

says Mr Mukesh Valabhji, managing director of the Seychelles Marketing Board (SMB) under whose auspices the scheme falls. "There is a high foreign exchange return on our investment - up to Rs1 a year, and we are using spare airfreight capacity on flights carrying tourists back to Frankfurt, Zurich, Paris and London," he explains.

The second scheme, which taps the Seychelles' enormous marine potential, is taking up Mr Valabhji's weekends. Nearly every Friday he leaves Mahé by plane to inspect one of the SMB's largest single investments - the US\$12m prawn farm on Coediv Island, 220 miles south of Victoria.

When completed in mid-1991 there will be 64 prawn cultivation ponds each measuring 5,000 sq m, expected to produce over 600 tonnes a year. The project will include a processing, freezing, and cold storage plant, and the prawns will be exported in refrigerated container ships to Japan and Europe.



Exports of anthurium (above) and orchids began last autumn

water intake and drainage system, a disease control laboratory, and warehouse facilities.

The results were excellent, and prawn farming is set to become the largest foreign exchange earner after tourism and fisheries.

When completed in mid-1991 there will be 64 prawn cultivation ponds each measuring 5,000 sq m, expected to produce over 600 tonnes a year. The project will include a processing, freezing, and cold storage plant, and the prawns will be exported in refrigerated container ships to Japan and Europe.

It may be difficult to match

this prawn bonanza in other areas of mariculture, but the range of prospects is considerable. There are plans to investigate rearing giant clams, trochus and green snail, and Rim has been set aside to explore culturing of oysters and other species for production of mother of pearl for export.

Back on land, the coconut industry might be revived by a project which aims to produce 40 tonnes of coconut cream a month for export. This new product has been successfully test-marketed in Europe, and agriculture ministry officials believe it could rescue a sector hit by low prices for copra.

In the meantime, however, officials acknowledge that the overall hotel standards must improve if Seychelles is to keep its place as an upmarket destination in the face of regional and international competition.

Michel said this month that

there are no substantial differences between the government and the private sector over the draft.

By July it had made its recommendations. The government is still studying them, but the business community is hopeful that they will be accepted in toto.

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there are no substantial differences between the government and the private sector over the draft.

It should become law early next year, he added. The investment incentives would give priority to industries which use local raw materials, encourage import substitution, or are export-oriented - the latter enjoying access to European markets under the Lome convention.

The main points and proposals in the draft issue are:

- In addition to tourism, other service industries which should be encouraged include off-shore banking and insurance, international consultancy, engineering, marketing, design or legal services, and the registration of ships engaged in international trade.

- Some industrial activities, such as those on a large scale relative to the economy, may need public sector participation.

- Issued share capital would have to be at least 30 per cent of the capital investment, and a proportion (up to 30 per cent) of the working capital.

- Approved projects would be guaranteed full repayment of invested capital and profits; protection by law against nationalisation without compensation; tax-free import of capital equipment except vehicles and electric generators; no withholding tax on dividends, interest or royalties; electricity supplied at marginal rates.

- Other incentives would make it easier to employ expatriates, make labour laws more flexible and give 99-year leases on industrial land.

- "Seychelles - A Guide for Investors", Federation of Employers Associations, compiled by David Ogilvie of British Executive Service Overseas.

INVESTMENT: a formal welcome to foreign investors

Draft code on input from outside

AFTER YEARS of prevarication, the Seychelles seems ready formally to spell out a welcome to foreign investors, including substantial incentives.

When promises are put into practice, investment in the islands' tourist sector, marine resources (such as fish processing and prawn farming), and the expansion of Victoria port including a dry dock facility, should become attractive propositions.

Until a year ago it was difficult to avoid the impression that the Seychelles has been less than enthusiastic in its search for foreign investment.

Although efforts have been made since 1979 to draw up a legally binding Investment code, they came to nothing.

Foreign investment was not

actively discouraged. But as the Islands' Federation of Employers Associations has noted, "the procedures facing a potential investor in Seychelles are complex and bureaucratic".

Under current regulations, the initial application, submitted to the Department of Industry, involves 31 pages of detailed questions, and takes anything from four months to a year before a decision is made, the Federation says.

Last year, however, the government signalled its determination to try again. In the course of presenting the 1990 budget, Mr James Michel, the minister of finance, said that a policy document on investment would be produced in 1990: "This will contain a range of fiscal and monetary incen-

tives," possibly including "concessionary rates of taxes on imported capital equipment and inputs; on dividends and capital repatriation as well as management fees and profits."

The draft recommendations should become law early next year

last March, when the ministry of finance asked the Federation of Employers Associations to draw up an investment guide to be followed by a codification of laws to finalise investment policy.

By July it had made its recommendations. The government is still studying them, but the business community is hopeful that they will be accepted in toto.

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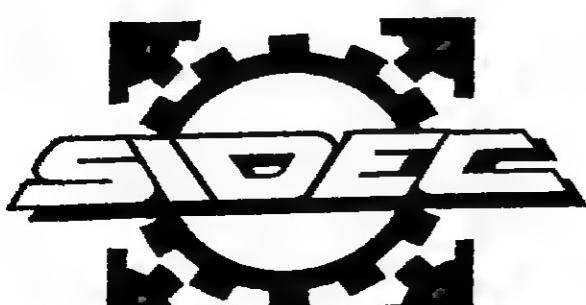
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FISHING**Abundance promises big net profits**

"WE WANT to make Seychelles one of the leading fishing nations of the world," says Mr Jérémie Bonnelame, minister of agriculture and fisheries.

It may seem an ambitious target for a country of only 70,000 souls, but they preside over a vast Exclusive Economic Zone of some 1.3m sq km whose enormous potential can only be guessed at.

It has already proved itself to be one of the world's most abundant tuna fishing grounds, with the Western Indian Ocean catch valued at US\$400m annually. Most of it is

Fishing is second only to tourism as a source of foreign exchange

processed outside the region. If the Seychelles were trying to reach Mr Bonnelame's target without outside help, it would be just an idle dream.

The minister, however, reflects the government's apparent shift away from state controls on the economy when he urges the private sector and foreign investors to play a greater role in the development of the fishing industry, especially tuna.

"We are already talking to companies in Thailand, Italy, France and Britain about the development of our existing tuna cannery plant," opened in 1987, says Mr Bonnelame. They already have French partners, but are "looking ahead to the possibility of installing a second production line in the existing plant."

The sector is second only to tourism as a source of foreign exchange, and medium-to-long term prospects for expansion are probably greater.

Exports of fish and fish products account for around 90 per cent of merchandise trade exports, while the port of Victoria has emerged as the main tuna port in the Indian Ocean, supporting the port's increasing

ingly lucrative role as a supplier of fuel and other services.

This role will be enhanced when a 3,500 tonne floating dry dock is installed, tentatively scheduled to take place during the period of the 1990-94 Development Plan.

The port will then be capable of repairing and maintaining large fishing vessels and small cargo and naval vessels.

One of the main elements in government planning is to build up a Seychelles fleet of modern purse seiners.

The programme was set back when the first of the specially commissioned R22m vessels was destroyed by fire at a shipyard in southern France. Its replacement should be ready early next year. It may be joined by a second vessel later in 1991; the intention is to build five in all, says Mr Bonnelame.

They will supply the cannery, where capacity will be increased from 12,000 tonnes to 16,000 tonnes of raw material annually.

"We want to go into more local processing," says the minister, "not simply canning, but smoked fish and fish fingers for example."

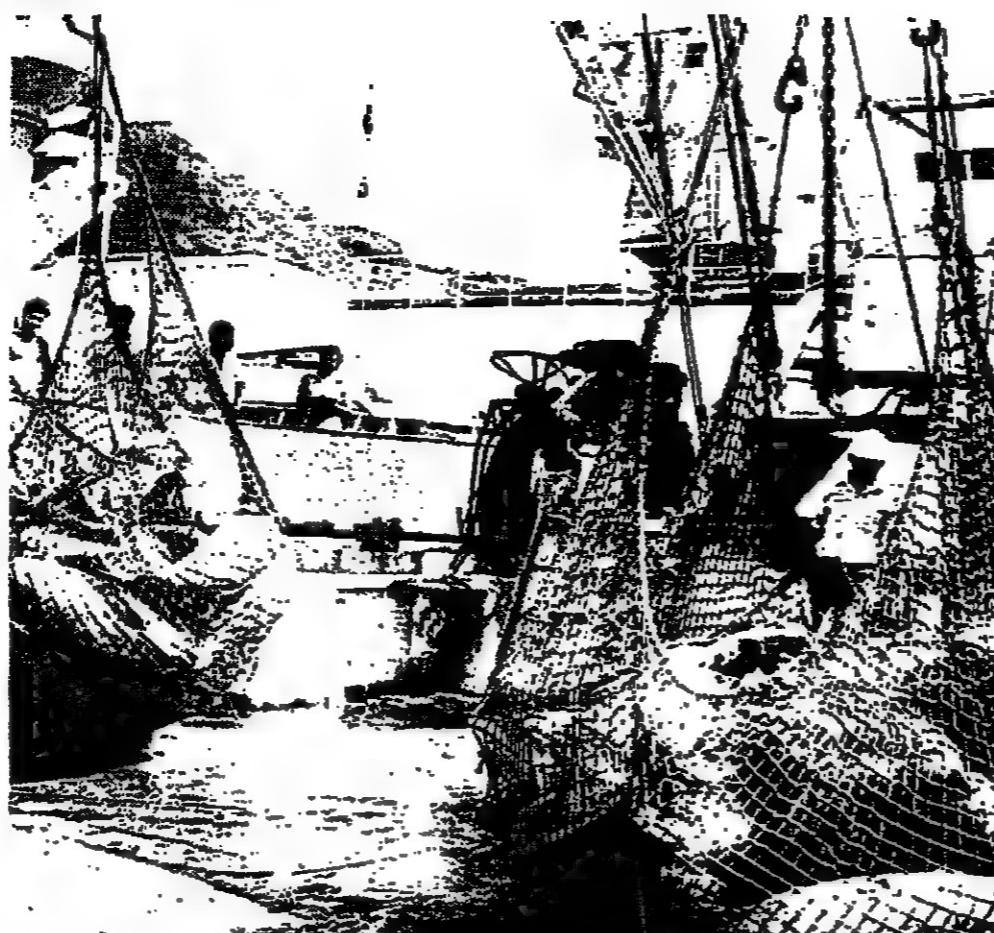
In the meantime, the Seychelles must accept that the bulk of the catch will be caught by foreign vessels, but not without benefit for the islands.

Apart from the business the vessels bring to Port Victoria, licence fees are a useful source of hard currency.

Fees have more than doubled from US\$2.6m in 1985 to US\$6.7m last year. Around 85 foreign vessels are currently licensed to fish in Seychelles waters, most from the European Community.

Although the tuna business is the main money spinner, demersal fishing is thriving.

It consists of some 1,000 fishermen and more than 400 boats, ranging from pirogues to all-weather vessels. Aside from the small domestic market, there is growing demand from Europe for the high quality catch.



The Western Indian Ocean tuna catch is valued at US\$400m annually

BUSINESS GUIDE

President, Minister of Industry and Defence:
France Albert René

GLORIOUS BEACHES and excellent communications with the outside world, including phone cards and public call boxes which invariably work. Seychelles surely is a business visitor's paradise.

What is more, there are none of the usual tropical hazards such as bilharzia, malaria, cholera or poisonous snakes, while the island's culture regards tipping as unnecessary. It all seems too good to be true.

If there is a serpent in this Indian Ocean Eden, it is in the form of the somewhat truculent taxi drivers, whose reluctance to use their meters makes their services expensive. But it should be acknowledged that they are efficient and answer calls in a matter of minutes.

Many destinations in Victoria, the capital, are within walking distance.

Most of the hotels on Mahé are within easy reach of Victoria. Some need renovation, but all make up for pokey rooms and sometimes indifferent services by their location on or near some of the world's finest, cleanest beaches. Golfers can enjoy a nine hole course at the Reef Hotel, Anse aux Pins.

The Seychelles hopes to challenge regional competitors such as Nairobi and Harare as a conference venue when work on a 500-seat centre is completed next year.

Getting to the main islands off Mahé is easy. There are daily, scheduled flights to Praslin (15 minutes), Fregate, Denis, Desroches and Bird, and a ferry service runs between Mahé and Praslin, and between Praslin and La Digue.

OIL: partnership with exploration companies**Hopes of becoming an oil producer**

THE SEARCH for oil is under way. It is a distant prospect, but one which if realised would transform the Seychelles economy.

"Every indication seems to point to the presence of oil in Seychelles waters," said Mrs Danielle de St Jorre, the planning minister, last August. She was signing an oil exploration agreement with Ultramar Canada Inc, which is leading the search, along with Texaco of the United States and Britain's Enterprise Oil.

The 1990-94 Development Plan is cautious about oil prospects. The Seychelles lies in what it calls a "high risk frontier area".

Nonetheless the state-owned Seychelles National Oil Company, established in 1986 - and more importantly, three oil companies - believe it is worth exploring the Seychelles continental shelf.

This area covers about 60,000 sq km of the country's Exclusive Economic Zone (0.3m sq km).

Although seismic surveys were carried out in the late 1980s, it was not until independence in 1976 that exploration really got underway. The following year 47 blocks were awarded under three separate licences.

The US company Amoco drilled three test wells - all of

encouraging. Test drilling should begin soon.

Last June Texaco joined in, signing an agreement for exploration rights over some 12,000 sq km south of Mahé.

Under the government's Model Petroleum Agreement, the company that discovers oil in commercial quantities would enjoy a 20-year production period.

The Seychelles National Oil Corporation would be entitled to taxes, royalties, and participation of up to 50 per cent, while the government's 1990-94 Development Plan stresses that the Agreement "is modified constantly, depending in view of the climate in the oil industry".

Meanwhile, the government hopes to put the Seychelles on the international oil map when it plays host in mid-December to the First Indian Ocean Regional Seminar on Petroleum Exploration. Most of the 20 countries in the region are expected to participate as well as a number of international oil companies.

which proved dry - about 125km west of Mahé, in 1980-81.

Efforts revived in the mid-1980s when Norway provided technical assistance, and concessions covering between 25,000 sq km and 30,000 sq km were offered.

Enterprise Oil, which has spent over \$22m in the search for oil in Seychelles waters, negotiated rights and last year described prospects as "very encouraging".

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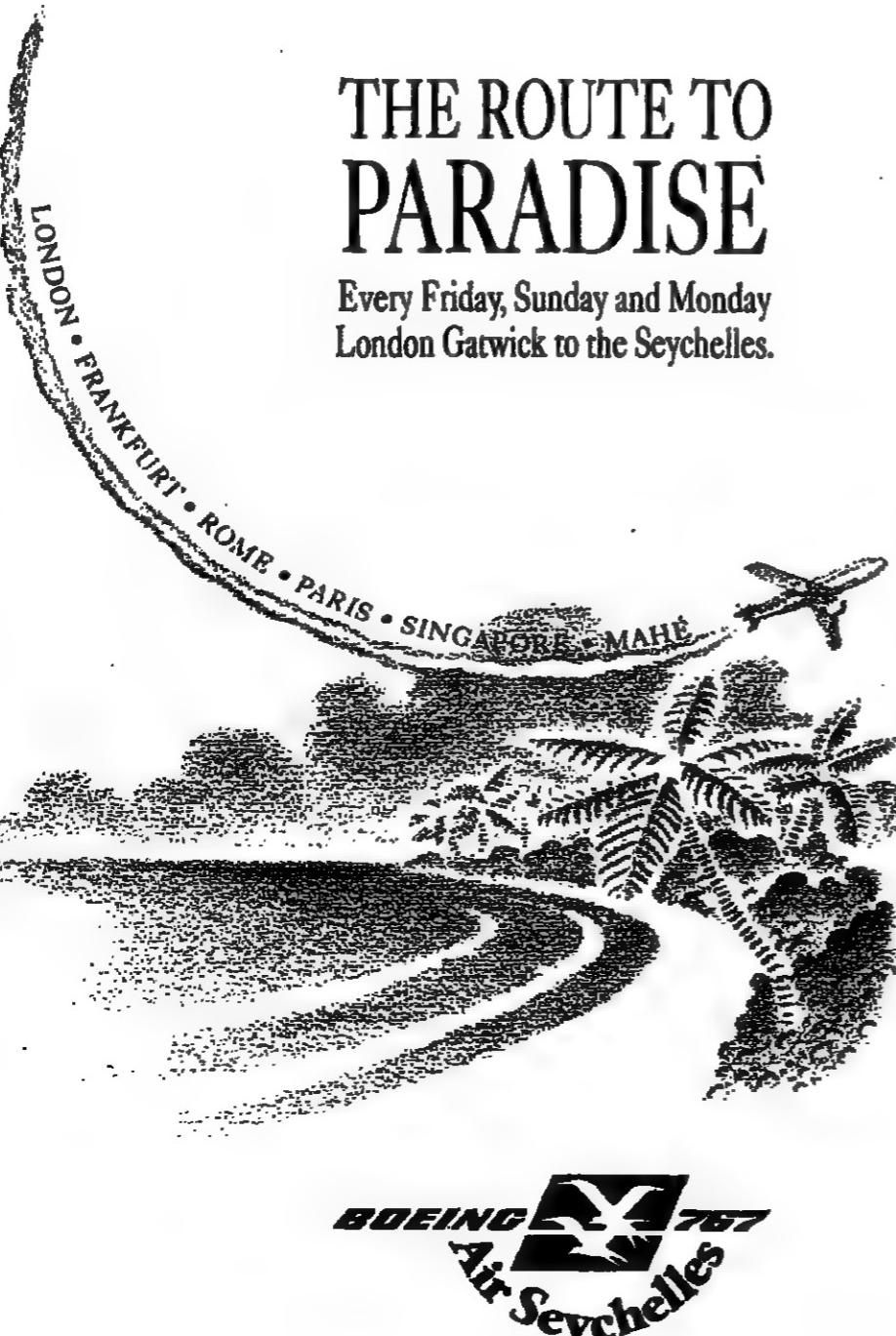
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ARTS

Yolande Snaith (Dance Umbrella)

RIVERSIDE STUDIOS

The dance-choreographer, Yolande Snaith, makes work that is baffling, wry, sombre, haunting and deeply British. (Though I'd rather call her, as Americans would, a performance artist.) She creates dream worlds packed with symbolic images. I often feel lost as I watch her work, lost in a maze, happily so.

A theatre piece by her lodges so many signs in my head that afterwards they work away there, so that I start to figure them out, meanings it has for me and perhaps for Snaith. That enlarges its power. But what's best is being there in that maze.

I've hooked from the first image of *Court by the Tale*, her new 70-minute work. Snaith herself, blindfolded, in high-heels, steps perilously along a square made of benches. How many threads are here already, the sense of the past, of not knowing where the next step will lead, of the difficulty of maintaining balance, of feeling one's way forward.

What follows uses film, speech (recorded and live), traps and pedestrian action, as well as dance. Snaith's five performers are sometimes in medieval robes, sometimes in modern trousers and shirts; but Snaith herself is dressed in either modern or 1940s attire. She's also haunted by a text from Hazlitt, which is recited on tape and which she echoes on stage. Here's the key sentence: "If we take away from the present the moment that is just gone by and the moment that is next to come, the solid basis of sense and reality will

Alastair Macaulay

Golem the Rebel

CITY THEATRE, ST GALLEN

The last years of 20th century music cover not just the Nazi terror before and during the war, but also the post-war era of Communist persecution in eastern Europe. It is a story which will take time to unravel.

The Romanian composer, Nicolas Bréetan (1887-1968), whose one-act opera, *Golem the Rebel*, has just received its first west European performance in the Swiss city of St Gallen, was treated as a non-person for the last 20 years of his life. Born in Transylvania in the dying years of the Hapsburg Empire, he was a man of three cultures – Romanian by birth, but equally attuned to the musical climate of Budapest and Vienna. Singer, conductor and opera administrator at Cluj, he wrote almost as many German and Hungarian lieder as Romanian, and made the *Golem* libretto available in all three languages.

Golem the Rebel was staged at Cluj in 1924 and again in 1946, shortly before Bréetan was expelled from the composers' union. After his death in penury, the Ceausescu allowed a revival of his music, goaded by the efforts of his emigre daughter.

Golem is a modest but sincere 50-minute work, which interprets the Jewish legend according to the artistic fashions of the 1920s. In addition to the familiar Golem symbolism of man's flawed creativity, Bréetan's opera mixes religious and erotic fantasy, which were favoured by Arnold, Hindemith, von Schillings and other contemporaries. In this incarnation, the golem – a being fashioned from clay by the rabbi of Prague – falls in love with his creator's grand-daughter, forcing the rabbi to kill the

Andrew Clark



Preserved for 2m people to enjoy: Old Harry Rocks, Corfe Castle Estate

ARCHITECTURE

In heritage we Trust

SHOULD we thank God for the National Trust? Last week I wondered what things would have been like without it as I read the words of one Mr Rod Legg, the chairman of the Open Spaces Society, attacking the Trust in the course of a lecture he was giving to celebrate his society's 125th birthday. His lecture was given at the trust's invitation and its chairman, Dame Jennifer Jenkins, was on duty. Mr Legg remembered his media opportunity rather than his man-

The Open Spaces Society was founded as the Commons Preservation Society in 1865. It is often seen as one of the parents of the National Trust, which was founded some 30 years later sharing the common founders: Robert Hunter, Octavia Hill and Canon Rawnsley.

Today the society campaigns for the protection of common land, village greens and rights of way, and has 2,500 members. It is also one of the societies that has the right to nominate a member of the National Trust's council. Mr Legg is that nominee.

Although, as a recent member of the National Trust's Council he has had plenty of opportunity to air his views at meetings, Mr Legg released his most outspoken comments to the press in advance of his lecture.

He feels strongly that the National Trust should be a model landowner, "but it fails short of its founders' ideals". He pointed out some specific examples of places where he thought that public access was unduly limited and made the general point that much trust land is "treated almost identically to the surrounding degraded landscape produced by modern farming".

This production – coupled with a ballet on Rimsky-Korsakov's *Sheherazade* – nevertheless offered a useful introduction to Bréetan, and suggested that his mature career might be worth investigating.

The staging by the St Gallen intendant Gladio von May concentrated on essentials, in an atmospheric framework of architectural projections designed by Annelies Corrodi. The cast of four included the Romanian baritons, Karoly Szegedi, in the title role, the tenor, Steve Dupré as the Rabbi, and Stefanie May as Anna. They and the orchestra under Eduard Meier gave a performance of impressive commitment.

Andrew Clark

ance Centre in Llandudno where there will be some 12 resolutions for discussion from the members – an unusually high number. Two of these concern hunting on trust lands which are merely symptomatic of the power of pressure groups to ride their particular hobby horse through the constitutional bangles of a large organisation. A reverberation to the use of old county names is also to be discussed (would anyone care if Avon disappeared?).

A key resolution will deal with the main problem that worries Mr Legg – the issue of public access to trust land. The trust owns 825,000 acres and many members feel that public access to this is too limited. The resolution argues for more rights of way.

The trust is not unsympathetic to this and yet persists in calling itself "the largest private landowner and conservation society in Britain". Instead of emphasising the "private" side of its ownership, surely the trust should say that the land is held for its members.

The political edge to Mr Legg's recent remarks suggests that the trust is the last of the great feudal landlords – an impression not everyone in the trust is keen to deny. The problem for the trust is how to be a sensitive landlord with at least two million people involved.

What the trust has always realised is that ownership is the key to preservation. We have to be grateful for the fact that 514 miles of coastline are protected by the trust; most of the Lake District, some 140,000 acres, is owned or protected; some 51 villages are sympathetically maintained; and there are some 180 houses and castles which are open to the public.

What would have happened without a body like the trust? Compare the situation in Ireland where houses and estates have collapsed and disappeared in huge numbers and there is no effective trust. Look at the empty, nationally-owned houses in France. Look, too, at eastern Europe, where a great architectural and cultural heritage has, in many countries, been standardised or allowed to vanish.

There is also the curious and anomalous position of heritage matters when they are handled by government. Why is the National Heritage Memorial

Fund so short of cash? Why have the purchase grants of our national galleries and museums been frozen for the last five years? Why did the Land Fund, set up for the very purpose that Mr Legg would most approve of, buy so few acres? Why in parliament so ineffective when it comes to the discussion of manner of the heritage uncertainties abound, and the heritage portfolio is also to be discussed (would anyone care if Avon disappeared?).

The two million strong constituency of National Trust members shows, by its size, the importance of the public place and the protection of England. The problem of responding to the views of so many is not easy. It seems to me that, while I am on my knees in gratitude to the trust for the salvation of so much, as an organisation it needs to do more public thinking about the future of the preserved heritage and its role in the nation's life.

I feel that its educational role is performed in an amateur way. The potential for knowledgeable propaganda using television, the Open University, and the raw material of what must be the largest museum in the world, is enormous. Also, the trust should have more of a voice in urban affairs. It has shied away from cities; and cities would have been better places for the trust's presence.

It is not too late. The seasonal closures mean that a great many pictures and objects are invisible for a large part of the year; so why are arrangements not made for the display of pictures and objects d'art in national and regional museums during the closed season?

How scholarly is the trust? It has the potential to be a university of the built and natural environment – could be more teaching and learning about art, architecture and the land in the great empty houses?

It is easy to attack large targets, but it is not easy to change large organisations. The trust is perfectly placed to expand the parameters of preservation, to broaden participation and enhance the national culture. Will it seize the opportunity, or prefer to retreat into dusty corridors?

Colin Amery

and the whole idea of opera, and the Met, and a Met gala audience so ignorant and uncouth that it applauded not only the scenery and the stars' entrances but also the first verses of Oscar's arias while the second verses began. If so, this was not a merely perverse but also an expensive form of mockery. And it misfired: the audience took it seriously and thought it wonderful.

The production was lavish and was evidently costly. The brief final scene, the masked ball, looked like an attempt to out-Zeffirelli Zeffirelli in dimensions and in populousness. It was enormous, and thronged. And that was where disgust set in – this in rotting, corrupt, slum city with its hungry, homeless, hopeless people.

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Monday October 29 1990

EC's mistaken priorities

THE HEADS of government of the European Community met in Rome as 12 leaders in search of an agenda. One was handed to them on a platter by the failure of EC farm and trade ministers to agree on a negotiating position on agricultural reform in the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. Whereupon the 12 decided to fiddle in Rome, leaving the problem of farm reform to burn.

Many will argue that what the heads of government did in Rome justified their voyage. After all, the leaders issued communiques about the Middle East and promised both to study aid to eastern Europe and to consider humanitarian assistance to the Soviet Union. More strikingly, they agreed on conditions for a transition to the second stage of economic and monetary union, now expected to occur in January, 1994. Moreover, "at the latest three years after the start of stage two" there would be a review of progress on monetary union "to enable the decision to move to stage three to be taken within a reasonable time period".

Set next to charting the EC's monetary future until 1997 or later, the collapse of the Uruguay Round in little over a month is perhaps too proximate to have deserved the leaders' attention. Alternatively, they may think it too trivial. If so, they are wrong.

Self-interest

The Commission has produced detailed analyses of the economic benefits of the programme to complete the internal market and, less than two weeks ago, no less than 360 pages on the merits of Enlargement. Because the Commission's resort to economics is strictly self-interested, no comparable work has been done on the benefits of liberal external trade in general, and of liberalising the common agricultural policy (CAP) in particular, though both topics are quite as amenable to such analysis as is Enlargement.

Any such analysis would almost certainly have concluded that the economic benefits of Enlargement would be dwarfed by those of a comprehensive liberalisation of external trade. They might be exceeded by the

benefits of liberalising the CAP alone. Neither proposition is all that surprising: the EC's steepest barriers to commerce are external, not internal, while the benefit of any liberalisation is largely a function of the height of the barriers to be liberalised.

Trade bog

If economics cannot be called in aid, perhaps politics justified the priority accorded this weekend to planning a route to the distant mountains of Enlargement over escaping from the trade bog in which the EC finds itself. This view, too, is mistaken. As the Commission itself remarks in the introduction to its proposals on Enlargement, "the Community will not be able to put plans [for economic and monetary union and political union] into effect unless it... lays the foundations for the new system of international relations in which history has reserved for it, if it has the will and the means, an important role alongside the other great world powers."

Yet it is trade that will in large measure determine the nature of the EC's relations with eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, with the developing countries, with the flourishing economies of east Asia and with the other economic superpowers, the US and Japan. What then is told to the rest of the world by the EC's persistent devotion to the principles of the CAP? What is told by the inability of the EC to agree, at past the last hour, on a negotiating proposal which entails a further reduction of perhaps only 15 per cent in aggregate farm support? What is told by the EC's apparent willingness to see the Uruguay Round collapse? The tale is one of short-sightedness, folly and shortsightedness.

December will be eventful. It will see the German elections, the end of the Uruguay Round in Brussels and the opening of the EC's two inter-governmental conferences. If the EC does not change its priorities soon, the Uruguay Round will first unravel, not inappropriately, in Brussels. The EC will then be able to examine its economic, monetary and political navel, all the while watching the international trading system disintegrate around it.

Time to reform A-levels

DOWNING Street appears to be obstructing reform of Britain's sixth form education as resolutely as it opposed membership of the European exchange rate mechanism. The prime minister reportedly regards Advanced (A) level examinations as an educational "gold standard" that must not be devalued.

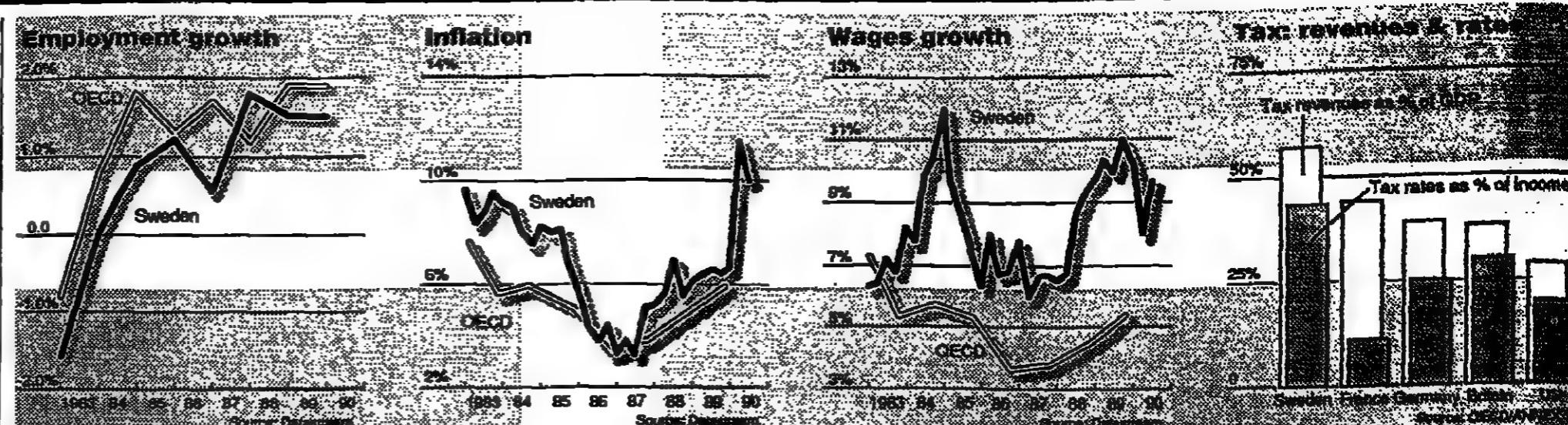
Two years ago, the Higginson committee's cogent plans for broadening sixth form education were summarily rejected. Similar reforms are now being urged by the Schools Examination and Advisory Council (SEAC), which advises the government on curriculum matters. SEAC wants sixth form students to study five or six subjects instead of the customary two or three A-levels. It wants more emphasis placed on skill acquisition, and course work to play an important role in determining a student's final grade.

This package of reforms is aimed at curbing premature specialisation and boosting staying-on rates. It is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, and has been widely welcomed by schools, universities and industry. Yet the government appears likely to reject the proposals as an erosion of the supposedly high standards guaranteed by traditional A-levels.

Strong start

The most powerful case for A-levels is made by head teachers in the independent sector, many of whom achieve outstanding academic results. They point out that students achieving high grades in A-levels attain standards not reached in most other countries until the early years of university. This strong start allows the brightest students to achieve exceptionally high standards in undergraduate degree courses that remain the shortest in the industrial world. Scrap A-levels, they argue, and you not only throw away a uniquely rigorous school exam, you undermine the entire university system.

This superficially plausible argument needs to be confronted head on. A-level students achieve high standards in individual subjects only by dint of excessive specialisation. In continental Europe, Japan,



Sweden's new austerity measures may not be enough to revivify an economy which has been looking increasingly sclerotic. Robert Taylor reports

End to old go-it-alone illusions

Sweden's famous economic Model - the envy of the world for more than half a century - is dead. It passed away last Friday afternoon as its authors - the ruling Social Democratic party - announced a Skr15bn (£1.4bn) cuts package which trim health benefits and reduces the size of the state bureaucracy. Even Sweden can no longer live with the old illusion that it can pursue a national economic policy based on Keynesian principles of demand management.

The outside world is now dictating what it can and cannot do. Under intense pressure from overseas financial opinion that forced up interest rates to 17 per cent nine days ago and led to a huge outflow of capital from Sweden, the Swedish government is having to abandon a long-held belief that the commitment to full employment and the defence of the welfare state should be overriding priorities.

Over the next few days the money markets will decide whether the austerity measures are sufficient to restore international confidence in the health of the country's economy and dispel suggestions that the currency will be devalued.

The omens do not look good. The cuts are far less than the Skr25bn originally forecast, amounting to under 2 per cent of the total budget. Many Swedish industrialists and financiers express their doubts and disappointment over the weekend. What looks draconian to Sweden's ruling Social Democratic party is likely to seem modest to more hard-headed overseas business opinion.

But neither Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson nor his finance minister, Mr Allan Larsson, can be in any doubt that their package - hastily cobbled together over a week - can only be the start, not the conclusion, of what promises to be Sweden's painful but necessary adjustment to economic reality.

Now it is the international money markets which have become the arbiters of Sweden's future, not the Social Democratic ideologues who built up the famed Swedish Model of economic management. For the first time since they came to power in 1982 the Social Democrats have agreed to cut public spending in a non-economic downturn. The markets have forced them to act, says Mr Klaus Elstun, a leading Social Democrat economist who used to work at the Ministry of Finance.

The package is also aimed at keeping Sweden's budget balanced for the coming year, the government recognising

nises that the return of a budget deficit would further shake confidence.

A bitter reaction to the cuts package may soon come from many people in the once dominant but now demoralised trade union movement who find it difficult to come to terms with the onset of hard times and who believe that Sweden can somehow still go it alone. The size of the public spending cuts - which will, among other changes, reduce the value of sick benefits for the first three days of illness in the case of children as well as adults - is perhaps less important to the party faithful than a recognition of the policy shift.

There is a depressing familiarity about this for anybody who remembers the experience of the last Labour government in Britain between 1975 and 1979 and the Mitterrand economic experiment of inflation in France during the early 1980s. Sweden has been compelled to accept its economic troubles can only be solved with the support of international markets.

Indeed, the package's declaration that Sweden wishes to join the European Community may turn out to be its most important ingredient. It is an attempt to reassure the markets that Sweden intends to move rapidly into the EC - perhaps by early 1993 - with all the financial disciplines that would involve.

In their new warmth for the EC, the Social Democrats can at least expect to carry Swedish public opinion. A change in attitudes to the EC has occurred over the past six months following German unification, the end of the Cold War and the erosion of the military blocs. Neutrality - until recently seen as a formidable obstacle to Swedish EC membership - looks increasingly irrelevant.

The speed with which outside events in Europe have forced themselves on to Sweden's settled ways is placing enormous strains on its social stability and cohesion because it threatens many powerful vested interests in the public sector. As Sweden rejoins Europe's mainstream, it is going through what is turning into a painful period of transition, perhaps the most profound it has known since its own industrial revolution.

Since the early 1980s Swedish policymakers have developed their own separate response to economic management. To the admittance of many in the democratic left they seemed to have created a successful society which guaranteed full employment and a comprehensive welfare state founded on the back of a highly redistributive tax system and egalitarian, centralised wage bargaining.

A dynamic labour market strategy of training and redeployment and a tight fiscal policy caused the resulting Swedish Model to be heralded as a successful blend of the free market and social justice.

But the fully-fledged Model worked successfully only for a relatively short period - from the late 1980s until the end of the 1980s. It did so through an "historic compromise" between capital and labour which accepted the peaceful co-existence of a thriving private sector and strong, responsible trade unions. The Model was held together by a genuine social consensus, based on self-discipline and a feeling of worker solidarity.

From 1970 onwards the consensus grew more difficult to preserve. Indeed, the Swedish economy began to reveal alarming signs of sclerosis. Its growth rate - which, apart from

1982, had been the best in the world since the 1980s - began to falter. Productivity became sluggish. The balance of payments fell into deficit. Increasingly Sweden's basic industries grew uncompetitive and inflexible to change. Above all, wage and price inflation in a tight labour market undermined its international competitiveness.

At the same time, the country's public sector, relative to all other types of economic activity, grew into the largest in the world. There was a corresponding growth in the proportion of the gross domestic product devoted to public expenditure: this climbed to just over 60 per cent by the early 1990s. Today, more than one in three of Sweden's workers is employed in the public service sector, mainly in local government, health and education.

Many economists believe Sweden's public sector job expansion crowded out the market economy. They argue that a connection exists between the country's relatively poor post-1970 economic performance and its huge, insatiable public sector.

Traditionally, Sweden's policymakers escaped from their troubles through strategic currency devaluation

tions. This was the pattern from 1981 until the 16 per cent cut in the value of the Krona in September 1982.

Now such a strategy looks inconceivable without inflicting severe damage on Sweden's international credibility. Nor would it do anything to cure its underlying economic ills.

Under the direction of Mr Kjell-Olof Feldt, the then finance minister, after September 1982, the country deregulated its protected financial system. It abolished foreign exchange controls in July 1983.

The objective was clear - to internationalise the Swedish economy and open it to the creative stimulus of global pressures. The country's financial integration into the world economy was paralleled in the past two years by a rapid move by Swedish industry into the EC, exemplified by the rising outward flow of investment to western Europe by the larger companies.

Unfortunately, Mr Feldt's liberal policies did not initiate any complementary industrial restructuring or social measures designed to reform the public sector.

The trade unions fought against Mr Feldt all the way and his views aroused predictable uproar from vested interests across the public sector. As a result, he was forced at times to compromise his own better judgment, though financial retrenchment has been much greater than many outsiders realised.

For a time it did not seem to matter. The 1982 devaluation coincided with an upturn in world trade and boosted Swedish industry as it looked as though the country's economic revival was based on sound foundations and structural change was less urgently needed.

From late 1985 there was a rapid deterioration in Sweden's balance of payments deficit, sluggish growth, and above all, return of a familiar bout of self-destructive, wage-push price inflation coupled with stagnant productivity in an overheated labour market.

Mr Feldt waited to cool demand in the spring of 1986 but the unions attacked him and he failed to win political support. Last February, he finally resigned in exasperation after parliament rejected a planned two-year freeze on wage, price and dividend increases.

Now his successor, Mr Larsson, has been compelled in even more difficult circumstances to act and, in acting, to sacrifice in the process ideological assumptions that have dominated

Social Democracy since the 1980s.

Ministers cannot say so but full employment is no longer the overriding priority of economic policymaking the way it was from the Great Depression to the recent past. At present, Sweden has a registered rate of joblessness of a mere 1.6 per cent, one of the lowest in the western world, but this can be expected to climb sharply by the end of next year.

Moreover, Mr Larsson has admitted openly that Sweden must reduce the proportion of its GDP devoted to the public sector. In fact, the country's huge public sector is about to be reformed radically with the introduction of private initiatives in health and child-care services, as well as the partial privatisation of state industries and utilities such as telecommunications and electricity supply.

The government also intends to remove the existing legal protections that hamper the flow of investment into the country by opening Swedish companies to the possibility of foreign ownership. It will seek to remove the last bastions of agricultural protectionism and to introduce greater competition into retail trade. The consumer is at last to replace the producer in Sweden as the power in the marketplace.

In January, the country's tax reform will come into force. This is designed to encourage greater personal choice and to increase individual incentives to work and save. Yet more will be needed. The Social Democrats are going to have to modify their belief in high levels of taxation and bring Sweden more into line with the lower rates enjoyed by the rest of western Europe.

Most Swedes do not yet realise the magnitude of the changes to theircherished way of life which they will have to accept over the next few years. An alarmingly wide gap in perception exists between the policymakers and the electorate.

Sweden's once stable political system is fragmenting. The ruling Social Democrats govern without a parliamentary majority. Their poll rating is down to only 32 per cent, with the next general election a mere 11 months away. At the same time, the opposition remains divided, more by personalities than policy.

Governing Sweden is much more difficult than it used to be at a time when its economic troubles require strong united political leadership. The latest crisis looks like being just an episode in the unfolding drama of the end to Sweden's isolation.

Worlds of meaning

■ The conference of Britain's Institute of Personnel Management has just brought to light a likely new star of the world's management seminar circuit. He is Fons Trompenaars, a 37-year-old consultant advising international companies about cultural differences between countries.

Working with David Wheately of the London-based consultancy, Employment Conditions Abroad, he has questioned thousands of business people from a mix of 27 nations about their attitudes to such things as work, social responsibility, and time.

As a result, for instance, he says the Dutch and Germans can be expected to turn up for a meeting exactly on cue. Brits and Americans will probably arrive inside five minutes either way, and Italians and Spanish inside 15. The French, however, are usually late, and with Arabs and Africans anything goes.

Besides possessing a wealth of information, the half-Dutch half-French Trompenaars has a rare talent for presenting it palatably. Here he is on differences in friendliness to strangers:

"If you stand in Paris reading a tourist map and looking puzzled, you can stay there three months and nobody will come near. In Philadelphia, within seconds people are marching up wanting to help. As for New York, don't try it - they'll steal your map."

Silver lining

■ The current European Community marathon over farm subsidies, reminiscent of some of the great agricultural battles of the early and mid 1980s, may cast a dark cloud over the trade talks known as the Uruguay Round. But for the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg at least there is a valuable silver lining.

Anachronisms in higher education must not be allowed to obstruct essential restructuring of education for 16 to 19 year olds. It is time to address the educational needs of the average, as well as the exceptional, sixth form pupil.

OBSERVER

Irish hopes

■ Stand by for a sporting miracle. On one hand, there is Lester Piggott, jockey extraordinaire, who, at the tender age of 55, is back in the saddle. On the other is the trilled figure of Vincent O'Brien, 73, the Irish trainer, who, with more than 40 Classic winners to his credit, is a living icon of the racetrack.

On Saturday, the Piggott-O'Brien pairing won the Sun Breeder's Cup Mile at Belmont Park, New York, with a horse called Royal Academy. Last week, in a single afternoon's racing at the Curragh, outside Dublin, Piggott rode four winners for the O'Brien stable.

Piggott is a revered figure in Ireland and the Irish punting fraternity is ecstatic at the recent turn of events. Time was when the pairing swept all opposition aside, winning races with almost boring regularity including four Epsom Derbies. But recent years have not been so good.

Lester Piggott, retired, then found himself jailed for tax offences. Meanwhile Vincent O'Brien was losing his winning touch. Classic Thoroughbreds shares were 14p. Last week they were only 10p. Even with Lester Piggott



"Not quite the hurricane I was expecting."

in the saddle, it is unlikely that the O'Brien company fortunes will change.

However, that is not what concerns the Irish punter. Instead, he looks for a miracle of the turf. Lester Piggott, a few years short of his old age pension, riding another Derby winner - out of the O'Brien stable.

He decided it would be impracticable to experiment with vouchers in a few areas before introducing them full scale. The existing educational controllers' vested opposition to the change was such that they would make sure the experiments failed.

The only way of making the idea a reality was to put the vouchers into force nationwide at one stroke. And that would not be practicable unless the Tory party was united in favour of them, which it clearly was not.

Since it still isn't, the confidence of the powers-that-be seems justified. But they might do better to be confident for the right reason.

Gold plate

■ "Ben", the UK motor trade's benevolent fund which looks after hundreds of the sector's sick and retired, is £25,000 better off thanks to a simple change of name by one of its supporting bodies.

Just under a year ago the Motor Agents Association,

which represents thousands

of the country's motor traders,

a public company started by O'Brien and other aficionados of the track to promote classic winners and sell them on to stand, has failed miserably.

At one stage Classic

Looking down the river from Charing Cross to Canary Wharf, the cranes that dominate the skyline testify to the greatest building bonanza that London has ever known.

Upstream, however, there is palpable evidence that the boom is over. County Hall, the imposing neo-classical building that used to be the seat of the Greater London Council stands empty after the collapse of plans to create one of the largest post-war developments in central London.

Three weeks ago the Anglo-Japanese consortium behind the proposed hotel, business centre and residential complex went into receivership, after failing to come up with the £185m it owed for the building.

In part, the failure of the deal can be blamed on planning delays and disarray among the consortium. But underlying the group's inability to come up with the cash is the deep malaise in the London property market.

When the plan was conceived two years ago, the market – buoyed by several years of soaring rents – reckoned that rents were heading for £50 per square foot. Now that looks absurdly optimistic. Taken together with falling property values, the project may be uneconomic.

The fate of the empty building and the forest of cranes further down the river are inextricably linked. "The main problem facing the property market is not high interest rates, or a lack of tenant demand but simply the huge volume of development work in progress," says John Atkins of UBS-Phillips & Drew.

The quantity of building work – and the vast acreages of surplus offices it engenders – has indeed been striking. There are now enough buildings on the market in Central London to accommodate all the office workers of Bristol. This is in stark contrast to the mid-1980s when there was a serious shortage of office space.

When the Docklands are included in the equation, the figures are even more worrying, although the area's transport problems help City developers play down its threat. Central London, including the Docklands, is due to expand a further 16.8 per cent in 1990 and 1991 according to Salomon Brothers, the securities house.

Periods of excess supply are relatively common in property markets, but the London surplus is unprecedented on this side of the Atlantic. It grew through an unusually potent mix of motives on the part of the banks, the developers, the City and the tenants. First, there was the obsolescence of most London offices, three-quarters of which were built before 1980. The arrival of the personal computer created a need for new buildings with adequate floor voids, electrical capacity and air conditioning.

Second, there was strong demand for large, open-plan offices triggered by the surge in global financial services groups. This trend did not live up to expectations. "We did not know that there would be such a shake-out in the financial services industry," comments Mr James Tuckey, managing director of M&PC, one of the most

Vanessa Houlder reports that the special conditions which supported London's property upswing have run their course

A deep malaise which may take years to cure



The activity at Canary Wharf testifies to the surge in property development from the City eastwards. Upstream on the Thames, however, there is evidence that the heyday of building offices is finished

Glyn Davis

active developers in Central London. None the less, demand has not faded away. Solicitors and accountants are hungry for new office space, as demonstrated last week when Coopers & Lybrand Deloitte, the accounting firm took Rosehough Stanhope's Ludgate development in the UK's largest letting.

Third, new tracts of land became available. The Docklands opened and the City felt threatened by the potential of an area that could offer modern offices at half the rent of the Square Mile. As a result, it relaxed its planning rules in 1986 to allow an additional 20m sq ft of office space.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, there were new sources of money for property companies. Overseas banks became increasingly aggressive property lenders, accounting for some 48 per cent of the £37bn in outstanding loans to UK property.

Moreover, new forms of financing, using off-balance sheet debt, allowed companies to undertake speculative developments breaking with the tradition of pre-selling property to institutions, which, significantly, were showing rapid interest in property.

The importance of the growth of speculative development is immense. As Christopher Edwards of the Prudential puts it: "The developers manufactured their own appetite which did not recognise where long term demand was from."

This lack of foresight, combined with the feverish pace at which developers were planning new buildings,

has culminated in the severest slump in 15 years.

The worst affected are developers who cannot let their properties. In the short term, much of the demand for modern office space is frustrated by the difficulty of disposing of old leases.

But even those who can find a tenant will be affected by oversupply as it will put pressure on rents in the worst-hit areas of the City of London

New techniques of financing, using off-balance sheet debt, allowed companies to go ahead with speculative developments

Rents have fallen by 10 per cent this year. In the view of Baker Harris Saunders, chartered surveyors, there will be no rental growth, above inflation, until the middle of the decade.

The poor outlook for rents bites two ways for the developer trying to sell the property. The price he will get depends both on the rent paid on the property and on the yield (the ratio of rent to capital value) demanded by the institutions.

Without the likelihood of good rental growth – and with high interest rates – there is little reason why institutions should invest in property rather than, say, gilts. The average

yield, as measured by Hillier Parker, chartered surveyors, has overtaken that of the property slide of 1975 to stand at an all-time high of 8.7 per cent.

Bulls argue this could be a turning point. "A further round of base rate cuts will leave [property] looking very cheap indeed on mathematical grounds if nothing else," says Gareth Evans at Charterhouse Tilney.

But there may be other obstacles. Property yields have risen throughout the 1980s, suggesting a fundamental change of heart by the institutions. The percentage of institutional portfolios devoted to property has declined from 18 per cent to 11 per cent over the course of the 1980s.

At first, however, the sight of the UK players bailing out of the market was upstaged by the arrival of overseas money. Last year, the UK institutions sold £25.4m of property in Central London, while overseas investors invested about £2bn.

The Japanese life funds and construction companies made the boldest entrances, making lavish offers for large, prestigious buildings in central positions. A stream of Swedish money has also come into the UK, after the easing of restrictions by the Swedish Central Bank.

Many of these investors emphasise that they are taking a long term view. Given the pre-eminence of London as a financial centre and the security of the UK's legal structure, they believe that modern, centrally-located buildings will remain a valuable commodity for some time to come.

Fears that the banks will pull the rug from underneath property companies are heightened by the international nature of the lending at a time when almost every large property market round the world has problems. On the other hand, putting a company into receivership may not solve the banks' problems. If there are no buyers for the property, they may be left in the banks' hands for some time to come.

Few people fear a re-run of the events of the early 1970s. There are no secondary banks on the scene and lenders have a smaller proportion of their loan book devoted to property.

But given the current outlook, the property market may take years, not months, to recover.

ity, regardless of short-term fluctuations.

None the less, many analysts are convinced that overseas investment has peaked.

Particular attention is focused on the developers and construction companies that are financed by short-term debt. In addition to the strain inflicted by the rise in interest rates, they and their bankers – mainly British – may be deterred by their experience of book losses in the UK. The scale of the problems in UK property were brought home to the Swedish market when Nyckeln, a finance company, went into administration after large losses from its UK property lending.

But even if overseas investment continues to gap the gap between the property on the market and available funds is yawning. Mr John Atkins of UBS Phillips & Drew calculates that if speculative development accounts for 30 per cent of bank lending, some 20% of net property is being supplied to the property market each year. Assuming that overseas and UK institutional investment remained at last year's level, it would account for little more than half that needed.

This is a recipe for disaster, although one that will be confined to selected parts of the market. Developers with first-class offices in first-class locations will let and sell their properties comfortably, and well-established companies with ample cushions of investment income will be able to cope with falling asset values and empty properties with impunity.

But developers who bought land in the last couple of years, who worked on over-optimistic estimates of sale prices, who were delayed by last year's steel erectors' strike and who found their margins squeezed by the increase in interest rates, are in serious trouble.

So too are the banks which lent them the money. As much as \$7bn is at risk, in the view of Ken Caesar, head of corporate recovery at Richard Ellis, chartered surveyors. The problem is exacerbated by the surge in bank lending that took place over the past couple of years, when developers were paying inflated land prices.

It is not yet clear how aggressive a stance the banks will take. Some evidence will emerge in the coming weeks as companies that failed to meet the interest bills due on the September Quarter Day go into receivership.

At present, the banks will pull the rug from underneath property companies are heightened by the international nature of the lending at a time when almost every large property market round the world has problems. On the other hand, putting a company into receivership may not solve the banks' problems. If there are no buyers for the property, they may be left in the banks' hands for some time to come.

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But given the current outlook, the property market may take years, not months, to recover.

LOMBARD

Adding value to exports

By Christopher Lorenz

FROM THE moment that Britain entered the European exchange rate mechanism in early October at the relatively high rate of DM2.95 to the pound, there has been much public worry over the impact of the decision on UK exports. Virtually all of the comment has been on costs productivity and terms. Hardly any attention has been paid to last year's level, it would account for little more than half that needed.

This is a recipe for disaster, although one that will be confined to selected parts of the market. Developers with first-class offices in first-class locations will let and sell their properties comfortably, and well-established companies with ample cushions of investment income will be able to cope with falling asset values and empty properties with impunity.

The tenor of the whole debate was epitomised last week by a statement from the Confederation of British Industry. For the umpteenth time in the past 15 years it reduced the complex question of Britain's trading "competitiveness" to the simplistic issue of the level of sterling. Most economists

of the year on, however, far too many UK companies still see quality as some sort of holy grail, rather than as what it has now become in many product markets: merely a necessary qualification for playing the competitive game, rather than a means of winning it.

On the other hand, the importance of design remains unappreciated by many UK manufacturers despite a decade of government campaigning – and despite design's manifest competitive force in the hands of the Germans, Japanese, Italians and Scandinavians.

One of the reasons Britain finds it so hard to make the best of such non-price factors is its deeply inbred tradition of selling low or medium-grade products at low prices. To change course requires a new set of strategies, investments and skills – and frequently new management too.

For a company to make the leap was difficult enough in the booming 1980s. Now, with domestic recession gaining an ever tighter grip and profits tumbling, it might seem too tall an order.

Yet there is no other route to competitive survival. Unit costs must certainly be cut further – total costs, not merely those for labour. But on the other side of the equation there must be much greater investment in the adding of extra value. On no account should companies follow their traditional, and dangerous, recession "strategy" of cutting back on the development of new products.

Nor, in time-honoured British fashion, should they set too much store by their current attempts to switch mundane existing products to export markets in order to compensate for domestic recession. What today's customers want at home and abroad, is considerable added value at a reasonable price.

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Objections to the duty free shop

From Mr Paul Ryan.

Sir, Stan Malden writes from BAA (Letters, October 22) to claim that people shop duty free because it is cheaper than ordinary shopping, rather than because they are bored.

The strength of its persuasive message to them would be enormously increased if it took a lead itself in curbing the Retail Price Index from its own actions first and replacing it with some new basis for predicting post-ERM price movements.

In the privatisation of water last year and the electricity distribution companies this year the government is guaranteeing shareholders' returns with some new basis for predicting post-ERM price movements.

Any dose of new realism

dentally reveal the role of boredom at present. Would travellers find it worthwhile to spend time shopping duty free when free to leave the airport and get on with their lives? I suspect that most would speed past the duty free shop and BAA supports present practices because, without a partly captive and bored clientele, large sales at current mark-ups could no longer be expected.

But why continue duty free status anyway? The second objection to it involves fiscal fairness, where its claims are on a par with those of the poll tax.

Foreign travel may be less efficient than in the past, but the benefits of any increase in such a tax concession will still倾倒 towards upper-income groups, both as owners of BAA stock and as more frequent international travellers.

Early in 1988 I received the approval of the BR board for a radical restructuring of the personnel function which involved decentralising most of

the personnel staff.

The new personnel teams had responsibility for working with line managers to develop and negotiate the pay and productivity reforms referred to in your article.

Following the 1988 dispute, the trade unions became involved in detailed negotiations for each of the main railway groupings and many of these negotiations are now reaching completion.

Trevor Toolan,
managing director
personnel,
British Railways Board,
Euston House,
24 Eversholt Street, NW1

One person's tax dodge is another's tax burden here too.

Paul Ryan,
King's College,
Cambridge

Such a change would incl-

FINANCIAL TIMES

Monday October 29 1990



GULF CRISIS

Baker visit to bolster coalition against Iraq

By Lamis Andoni in Baghdad and Peter Riddell in Washington

MR JAMES BAKER, the US Secretary of State, will visit Saudi Arabia later this week as part of a renewed US attempt to bolster the coalition against Iraq.

Confirmation of Mr Baker's trip follows concern within the Bush administration about signs of drift in the diplomatic drive against Baghdad and uncertainty produced by the amateur diplomacy of Mr Yevgeny Primakov, the Soviet special envoy.

Uncertainty over the Soviet envoy's mission grew yesterday, when Mr Primakov unex-

pectedly added a second meeting in Baghdad late last night with Mr Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi president, following an hour of talks earlier in the day.

The announcement of the envoy's unscheduled meeting came after Mr Edward Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, said in Moscow that there remained hope of a peaceful settlement to the Gulf crisis, but only if Iraq withdraws its forces from Kuwait.

"Primakov's mission is not the last hope," Mr Shevardnadze added, though he added it was hard to see how the cri-

sis would be resolved. Diplomats in Baghdad, meanwhile said, Mr Primakov, who was due to fly today to Saudi Arabia, may extend his stay in Baghdad pending the conclusion of talks today between Mr Francois Mitterrand, the French president, and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, his Soviet counterpart, who arrived in Paris last night.

Mr Gorbachev is due to sign a Franco-Soviet co-operation agreement with Mr Mitterrand today, but is also expected to address the Gulf crisis in talks during his 24-hour stay.

In Baghdad, Iraqi officials said they were encouraged by what they viewed as a serious Soviet initiative to avert military confrontation in the Gulf, but refused to comment on details of Mr Saddam's meeting with the Soviet envoy.

Some Arab diplomats, however, suggested Mr Primakov was touring a plan which might entail a partial Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, adding that Iraq was hoping that the Franco-Soviet talks would assert a linkage between the Kuwait crisis and other Middle Eastern problems, nota-

bly the Arab-Israeli conflict.

On senior Arab diplomat said that the Iraqis had stressed in their talks with Mr Primakov that negotiations should precede any withdrawal from Kuwait and that there should be direct talks between Iraq and the US, Britain and Saudi Arabia.

Western leaders have repeatedly ruled out a partial Iraqi withdrawal as unacceptable, and have admitted the possibility of talks either over Kuwait or broader Middle Eastern problems only after a full, unconditional Iraqi pull-out.

Bush asks Fed to cut interest rates

By Peter Riddell, US Editor in Washington

PRESIDENT George Bush, announcing he would "reluctantly" sign a \$422bn five-year deficit reduction package approved by Congress over the weekend, appealed for the Federal Reserve to respond by lowering US interest rates.

The much-debated budget was at last passed by the Senate, 54 votes to 45, late on Saturday after the House of Representatives approved it at dawn by 228 votes to 200. In both houses a majority of Mr Bush's fellow Republicans voted against it.

Congress has now adjourned and both parties are manoeuvring to maximise political advantage before mid-term elections on November 6. Mr Bush has been damaged by the crisis, with his approval rating down to 48 per cent, according to a new Newsweek poll. This is the lowest level of his presidency and compares with more than 75 per cent in mid-August after the Gulf crisis began.

The final budget package differs in composition (higher taxes on the wealthy, a smaller increase in petrol tax and more limited savings on health provision) from the original bipartisan summit agreement rejected by the House, but it is similar in its overall forecast impact on the deficit.

This should be cut by \$41.4bn in the 1991 fiscal year, which started nearly a month ago, and by \$422bn over five years.

Mr Bush said the budget would be good medicine for the economy if interest rates came down and economic growth was stimulated.

Mr Alan Greenspan, the Fed chairman, greeted the original package as "credible" and suggested that the US central bank would respond to any favourable market reaction by cutting short-term rates.

Any reduction, however, is likely to be modest, possibly only a quarter or half a per-

centage point, because of the concern of many Fed policy makers about rising US inflation.

Mr Bush yesterday sought to distance himself from the budget package which raises taxes by a net \$127bn over five years. He said that accepting tax increases was "a one-time compromise" and the price of divided government (with Democrats controlling Congress). He and other senior officials yesterday attacked Democrats for wanting to raise taxes.

Mr John Sununu, the White House chief of staff, admitted however that Republicans might lose "a handful or two handfuls" of seats in the House and be "plus or minus" two seats in the Senate.

Congress adjourned having also completed work on the most far-reaching clean air legislation since the late 1970s, a radical overhaul of US immigration laws and new child

care assistance for poor working families.

The rescue of the savings and loan industry, however, is threatened because of a failure to approve legislation needed to grant it needed new funds. The pace of the rescue may slow almost to a halt until Congress returns early in the new year despite warnings that this may add billions of dollars to the eventual cost.

The long-debated clean air legislation will toughen pollution controls on car emissions, on power utilities burning high sulphur coal which produces acid rain, and on airborne toxins. It will require big changes in the motor, steel, chemical and coal industries.

The new immigration law will increase the number of immigrants into the US by nearly 40 per cent and will more than double the number allowed entry because of job skills.

US economy, Page 33

the problem since the government has an open-ended obligation in the rescue because it guarantees savings and loan deposits up to \$100,000.

Arguing for even the \$10bn package, Senator Donald Riegle, Democratic chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, said the money would have kept RTC operations on a "leash" until February when Congress could have acted again.

Similarly, Senator Jake Garn, the senior Republican on the committee, warned:

"We cannot afford to end the session without providing the RTC with sufficient money to carry on the closure of the troubled institutions. If we do not, they stay open and we could increase the cost of the bailout by millions of dollars."

Anticipity in Kentucky, Page 2

NZ National party sweeps to victory

By Kevin Brown in Wellington

THE HUNGARIAN government and the country's taxi and truck drivers yesterday drew back from a clash which had paralysed the nation since Thursday night and threatened its stability.

But the more time passes, the more the government's position strengthens. Its calm is returning as public irritation with the strike's disruption hinders and offers to help with energy supplies pour in from the west.

"There was no possibility of avoiding such a crisis," said Mr Istvan Torai, head of the prime minister's secretariat. "It is something the country has to go through."

He said that it was crucial for the new democracy that the drivers' action be rejected by the population, rather than by the police.

As bread and milk have run short, reports of anarchy and violence have proliferated and embarrassment at the image of Hungary presented to the world has grown, the public mood has turned against the strikers.

An angry pro-government crowd of several thousand demonstrated yesterday outside the building where ministers and workers' representatives were negotiating.

The protest, however, and the government's reaction have raised the relative fragility of the new democracy.

The episode has shown public hysteria to be close to the surface. People formed long queues outside foodshops as soon as the blockade began to tighten and some shopkeepers in Budapest began carrying guns.

Labour also pioneered equal pay and environmental legislation, and effectively withdrew from the Anzus defence treaty with the US by banning visits

by nuclear armed or powered warships.

Mr Bolger said the National party would generate a new consensus. The party is committed to retaining Labour's economic reforms, but faces opposition to its plans to extend deregulation into the labour market by abolishing New Zealand's system of compulsory trade union membership.

Political results gave Mr Bolger's National Party 89 seats in New Zealand's 97 member Parliament, a majority of 39. Labour won 26 seats and the left-wing New Labour Party retained its single seat.

An average swing of just under 10 per cent gave the National party the biggest victory in New Zealand's history, eclipsing even the election of the country's first Labour Government, which swept to power with a majority of 30 in 1935.

Labour could lose Wellington, Christchurch, when postal and special votes are counted next week.

Mr Mike Moore, the outgoing prime minister who took over the Labour leadership after a cabinet coup two months ago, retained his Christchurch seat. However, seven of his 17 cabinet colleagues were defeated.

The National party is also likely to soften Labour's plans to cut inflation from around 5 per cent to between 0 and 2 per cent by 1992. Mr Bolger has attacked the outgoing government for keeping interest rates high, and has spoken of an inflation target of around 2 per cent by 1993.

The new government will move quickly to repair relations with the US, although the National Party has promised not to drop Labour's anti-nuclear legislation.

Mr Bolger said Labour had been thrown out of office for breaking promises not to privatise state assets and failing to achieve economic growth. The economy recorded zero growth last year, and Gross Domestic Product is forecast to rise by 0.4 per cent this year.

Mr Bolger declined to say how he would handle a dispute between right-wing National MPs, who want to extend Labour's free-market reforms, and left-wingers calling for a looser monetary policy and reduced unemployment.

Mrs Ruth Richardson, the Party's right-wing finance spokesperson, is expected to be appointed to the key portfolio of Finance Minister.

Amstrad threatens to abandon production in Britain

By Michael Simpkin

MR ALAN SUGAR, chairman of Amstrad, has threatened to abandon the UK electronics group's recent policy of manufacturing in Britain if the European Community goes ahead with moves to stop software piracy.

He warned that UK computer manufacturing and design jobs could be lost to the Far East.

In a letter sent last week to Mr Peter Liley, the trade and industry secretary, Mr Sugar said a UK amendment to a proposed directive would prevent the legitimate analysis of software.

Under the UK government's new amendment, "reverse engineering" would be permitted for the creation of software programmes and peripheral products which are attached to computers. However, it would not be permitted to create products which compete directly with those being examined.

Such analysis was essential if companies such as its own were to produce equipment compatible with that of large manufacturers such as IBM of the US, Mr Sugar said.

He accused the British government of being the prime mover behind the software piracy.

He asked the DTI to ensure that the UK representation at the Wednesday's Council of Ministers meeting in Brussels withdraws the proposal.

Mr Sugar said computer and software engineers had always used reverse engineering to establish how the products of the large manufacturers work.

"No one has ever stopped them as long as the end result of what they produced was not in breach of copyright or patent." Software piracy could be dealt with adequately under existing law, he said.

Although Mr Sugar built up his group by making products cheaply in the Far East, much of Amstrad's manufacturing is now done in Britain by other UK groups. Amstrad's personal computers, for instance, are made in Scotland by GPT, the telecommunications company.

If the proposed directive is accepted, "the jobs in Scotland that we have created will go and we'll have to resort to manufacturing in the Far East," Mr Sugar said. "Hardly a situation I would expect the British government to sponsor."

The DTI yesterday refused to comment specifically on Mr Sugar's letter. A spokeswoman said, however, that companies which are carrying out legitimate examination of software would be able to continue to do so. "We agree with the EC that copyright protection needs to be strengthened, but without trying to affect companies that legitimately do reverse engineering," she said.

Mr Mark Dwyer, spokesman for an international group of computer manufacturers monitoring the proposals, said yesterday that the European Commission had earlier amended the proposed directive in ways which made it "broadly acceptable". The group, the European Committee for Interoperable Systems, represents such manufacturers as Amstrad, Groupe Bull of France, Olivetti of Italy, Fujitsu of Japan and NCR and Unisys of the US.

The UK government's new amendment, however, threatened to undo this work. "The IBM-compatible PC industry would be outlawed at the stroke of a pen," he said.

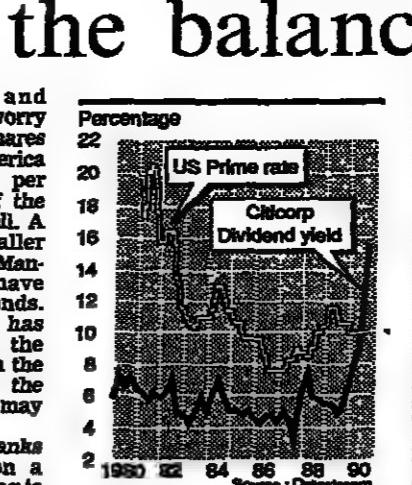
US banking in the balance

THE TEX COLUMN

By Tex Willer

US banking in the balance

Percentage



estate. The resulting reduction in the value of other real estate in turn precipitates the need for more loan loss provisions and more asset sales.

The great worry for the financial markets, and the central banks, is that the problems of the banks will cause a sudden and unpredictable contraction of credit. There are already signs that liquidity is drying up in certain markets. Lending margins may be on the mend; but even the best capitalised banks have shown the fragility of investor confidence.

If a bank has to pay its depositors more than it charges its lenders for very long, it has no future. Citicorp's problems in the preferred share market, which only supplies a very small part of its funding, are almost certainly a temporary aberration.

But Citicorp's capital ratios are weaker than most, and although the \$10bn of provisions made over the last four years is bigger than the current \$9bn common equity base, it is still under-reserved by European standards.

With a stock market capitalisation of just \$3.6bn, its ability to raise an additional \$1.5bn to \$5bn if new capital is limited. Hence the concern about the \$500m per annum common stock dividend. One possible solution would be a merger with a neighbouring New York bank.

If this is done, the Bank of England, similarly, will have to take long to rebuild the capital ratios.

That aside, the easiest way for Citicorp to repair its capital reserves is to shed assets. This is where its problems, and those of other big US banks, begin to flow over into the rest of the financial markets. The US savings and loan industry has already shown what happens when financial institutions are forced to dump over-priced real

assets, of which intangibles account for some \$2.5bn. Reed International's net asset value is \$1.4bn, of which intangibles are \$1.3bn; and so on.

It is self-evident that newspaper and book titles have a commercial value. The snag lies in establishing roughly what that value is. The sophisticated approach is to decide subjectively how much of the earnings from a publishing asset belong to its intangible aspects and then to apply a yet more subjective earnings multiple.

The simpler method consists of stating that the fair value of the asset is whatever it cost. Given the scramble for publishing assets in the 1980s, that may be a singular assumption.

It might be argued that tangible asset values are not terribly useful either. But the values of plant and machinery at least have the conservative merit of being depreciated each year. None of the above-mentioned media companies depreciates its titles at all. More important, manufacturing assets are generally interchangeable while publishing titles are unique. The price of a machine tool is governed by that of Heineken or The Sun is vastly more dependent on market conditions at the time.

In a sense, the argument is only part of the wider issue of brand valuation. What News Corp does for its chocolate bars and Grandmet for its drinks. But those industries do not have quite the same recent history of bidding up assets. Nor are food and drink companies typically consolidating under a weight of debt.

The effect of using intangibles to increase asset values is of course to reduce the stated level of gearing. The market evidently prefers to look to the level of interest cover. News Corp had interest cover last year of 1.5 times; its present market capitalisation is one eighth of claimed asset value. Maxwell had interest cover of 2.4 times; its market capitalisation is three quarters of asset value. Reed last year had virtually no interest payable at all; its premium to asset value is nearly 50 per cent.

The question of whether publishing assets are worth what balance sheets say they are is difficult to settle, since few media assets have come on to the market lately. This may be because of a gap between the expectations of buyers and sellers. But if companies are driven to sell by their bankers, the principle of intangible valuation could be put to the test.

WORLDWIDE WEATHER

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Monday October 29 1990



INSIDE

Ontario clears way for British Gas bid

British Gas' proposed C\$1.1bn takeover of Consumers Gas of Toronto has been cleared by an Ontario-regulatory agency, subject to numerous conditions including a commitment to maintain partial public ownership of the Canadian utility. Page 24

Swedish bonds in turmoil

The Swedish bond market was ready for upheaval as it waited for the Social Democratic government of Mr Ingvar Carlsson (left) to announce its economic austerity package last Friday. It has already been a turbulent month with rumours of a krona devaluation and two sharp interest rises. And when the measures were announced in the late afternoon after trading closed, the reaction was generally negative with widespread predictions that market interest rates are likely to rise, writes John Burton. Page 25

French immigration curbs

French politicians have been loath to suggest that the country needs to change its immigration policy. But there are a number of factors which may force the idea on to the national agenda. Page 36

Numbers run against Chevron

Market arithmetic has moved against Chevron, the fourth biggest US oil company. Its third-quarter net income declined by 3 per cent to \$403m, while operational results were 21 per cent lower because the cost of buying crude oil rose more than the average increase in refined product prices. Page 25.

Bond port in Gulf storm

Switzerland has always been something of a safe haven in times of turmoil. In the shadow of the Gulf crisis the dictum appears to hold true, writes Simon London. Page 27

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Economics Notebook

French wage problems wriggle into the open

Since the onset of the Gulf crisis, French economists have taken the lid off a number of cans of worms, whose wriggling had hitherto remained decently hidden.

It is now commonplace to observe that activity had begun to slow down, and slow significantly, months before any impact from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

But unit labour costs, too, can now be seen to have begun to climb alarmingly as early as the second quarter of 1990 – a trend which had been partially concealed by a fortunate drop in the cost of imported goods and raw materials.

From 1983 to 1989, French unit wage costs had diminished in real terms by an average of 1.7 per cent a year, a substantially better performance than the average of 0.8 per cent a year achieved by West Germany.

While hourly salaries have maintained a slow but sustained acceleration over the last three years, however, productivity gains have tailed off. In the first six months of this year they ground to a halt, leaving unit wage costs to climb by 2.7 per cent in the first six months of 1990, and by 4.7 per cent over the past year.

The acceleration has been most marked in manufacturing industry, where unit wage costs have risen by 5.1 per cent over the past year, with intermediate goods manufacturers particularly affected.

Against this background, the reaction of French wage negotiators to the surge in inflation provoked by the Gulf crisis could prove decisive. Faced by two previous oil shocks, France reacted by allowing substantial wage increases to trigger an inflationary spiral,

as the "anti-crisis" study group set up under planning minister Lionel Stoleru reported earlier this month. Will the response be better this time?

Wage negotiation structures appear to have broken with some of the habits of the 1970s, but economists cannot agree on whether wages have been derailed from inflation.

Earlier this year, Pierre Ralls and Joël Touzé-Bernate, economists at Insee, argued that the disinflation of pay was a reality since 1983; previously, past price increases were passed on within one quarter into pay.

But Savo Avouyi-Dovi, Eric Bleuzen and François Lescointe of the Caisse des Dépôts, find the evidence of a statistical turning point inconclusive.

Instead, they argue that France shows a clear disinflation of wages on past inflation, but unlike countries like the US and especially West Germany, pays no attention to productivity gains in wage negotiations.

Pierre Poret, economist at the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development, argues on the other hand that French wages remain closely indexed on prices, but on expectations of future inflation, rather than on past inflation. These expectations, he suggests, have been moderated to the tune of about 1 percentage point a year, due to the greater credibility of French monetary policy, thanks to the firm anchorage of the franc in the EMS exchange rate mechanism.

Pierre Bérégovoy, the finance minister, can be relied on not to abandon this monetary anchor; indeed, a number of French economists have argued that one way to reduce the gap in interest rates

between France and Germany – far wider than that between inflation rates – would be to put an official stamp on what is already virtual reality by declaring that the franc exchange rate against the D-mark is henceforth fixed.

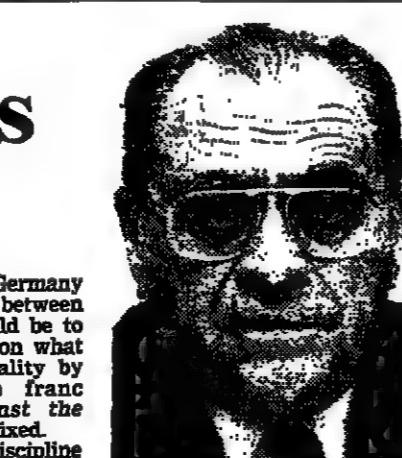
But will monetary discipline be enough, against a chorus from the socialist majority backbenchers in favour of more redistribution to employees?

Trading setback

It was unkind of fate to return the best visible trade figures Britain has seen for years, and the worst seen in France, just one week after Pierre Bérégovoy invited the French national assembly to mediate, without any spirit of polemic, on the economic failure of the UK.

Some deterioration in French trade performance was widely expected, for the energy deficit widened sharply and predictably to FF19.9bn (\$1.96bn), compared with an average of FF16.3bn a month in the balmy first half of the year, before Iraqi tanks sent oil prices climbing. All the same, the overall September trade deficit of FF10.1bn, after seasonal adjustments, also reflected a wider deficit in manufactured goods and a narrowing surplus in food and agricultural products.

It would probably be erroneous to lay too much of the blame at the door of the strong franc, although it has appreciated by nearly 10 per cent against the US dollar so far this year. France's share of export markets is most sensitive to price competitiveness in the EC, according to an Insee analysis, and the EC, where the franc exchange rate is

**Strong first half at NEC and Fujitsu**

By Ian Rodger in Tokyo

NEC and Fujitsu, Japan's leading computer and telecommunications equipment makers, both scored double digit pre-tax profit increases in the six months to September 30, and have raised their dividends.

NEC's interim dividend rises from Y4.5 per share to Y5 per share while Fujitsu's goes from Y4 to Y4.5. Profits of NEC jumped 18.5 per cent to Y55.9bn, thanks to booming sales of telecommunications and computer equipment. Sales rose 9.8 per cent to Y1.378.1bn (\$10.9bn).

Net income jumped 30 per cent to Y38.6bn or Y25.13 per share. The company expects that its customers' capital spending will remain strong in the second half, and it foresees another record pre-tax profit of Y146.9bn for the full year, up 10.6 per cent to Y55.8bn.

Fujitsu's pre-tax profit was up 10.6 per cent to Y55.8bn on sales ahead by a similar margin to Y1.070.7bn. The company said a slump in semiconductor sales was more than offset by buoyant markets for its computers and telecommunications equipment.

Sales of electronic devices fell 9.6 per cent to Y133.6bn, but telecoms equipment sales surged 19.2 per cent to Y181.9bn. Sales of computers were up 13.3 per cent to Y745bn.

Net income advanced 3.2 per cent to Y26.4bn.

Contrary to the expectations

of some stockbrokers' economists, the agricultural surplus is likely to fall from the FF14.9bn a month average of the first half, if not as low as September's FF13.5bn, then at least to around FF13.5bn.

George Graham

Pan Am rejects American Airlines' counter offer

By Paul Abrahams in London and Nikki Taft in New York

Flying high over the debt mountains

Maggie Urry looks at Brent Walker's asset backing

When Mr George Walker wanted to reassure his bankers earlier this month about the quality of his UK company's assets he hit on a simple solution. He put them on a plane and flew them around the Brent Walker empire of hotels, marinas and leisure spots across the UK and Europe.

Mr Plaskett said he intended to abide by the agreement with United which he believed was fair to both parties. He added that the transaction with United was legally enforceable.

He confirmed that Pan Am had asked its creditors, including Airbus Industrie, United Technologies and the US Internal Revenue Service, to put a lock-up of some of its debt so the airline could maximise its flexibility during the winter. During this period, Pan Am was due to pay Airbus and United about \$55m and the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation \$55m.

Mr Plaskett, returning last night to the US from Berlin with a \$150m cheque from Luftfahrt, the German arm of Pan Am's internal services, said both Mr Crandall, the chairman of American Airlines, and the media had misunderstood the importance of the marketing aspects of the agreement with United.

"American's \$500m offer, which would represent an asset sale to fund operations, contains no strategic value," explained Mr Plaskett. He said the United alliance, which will involve schedule co-ordination, facilities sharing, cost economies and the integration of the two airline's frequent flier programmes, forms an essential part of Pan Am's strategy.

The rest of Pan Am's strategy, explained Mr Plaskett, involved re-focusing European operations in Frankfurt and exploiting central and eastern Europe; developing non-stop routes from New York J.F. Kennedy airport to European continental capitals with smaller aircraft; and reinforcing the airline's highly profitable central and south American operations at Miami.

Mr Plaskett said there would be no more asset sales after the disposal of the Pan Am shuttle between New York, Boston and Washington. He added that Mr George Walker may be facing problems has had a mixed record as a fund manager.

"Oh good heavens," exclaimed a well known Madrid financier who has just bought a dwelling in the newly completed first phase at Puerto Sherry. "This is my money we're talking about here." An employee at the development merely shrugged. "If Brent Walker goes, somebody else will buy it," he insisted.

If the marina, hotels and homes at Puerto Sherry are any guide to Mr Walker's enthusiasm for spending the money he borrows than he cannot be faulted for opulence or ambition. "The place is a monstrosity," rages a shopkeeper in the nearby town of Puerto Santa María. In fact, is just incredibly well, if not a little garishly appointed – from an intimate theatre to a three football field size dry storage area for yachts.

Puerto Sherry, quite empty and still this weekend, was taken over in 1983, with work on the 900 berth marina just beginning. The buyer was Aresbank, in which the Libyan and Kuwaiti government each have 30 per cent. Aresbank struggled with managing the project and by 1987 had had enough. It asked the Arab Banking Corporation, one



George Walker: out to sell peripheral businesses and cut debt

earlier this year Mr Walker made it clear that the group needed to sell peripheral businesses in order to bring down its debt burden. But Mr Walker's legendary abilities as a deal-maker can do little in the property market's current state.

More than a year ago, Brent Walker said that a £50m management buy-out of Goldcrest, its film subsidiary, would be announced "shortly". It has been put off until now to finalise the sale but cash proceeds are likely to be £25m.

In August Mr Walker wanted to sell the Trocadero. But Brent Walker's partner, Power Corporation, an Irish development group,

7 directors quit and Enimont plans \$7.5bn cash call

By Haig Simonian in Milan

A SHOWDOWN at Enimont, the troubled Italian chemicals joint venture, has drawn one step closer with the resignation on Saturday of seven of its 12 board members.

Separately, Mr Sergio Cragg, the company's managing director, announced plans for a rights issue of up to Ls.500bn (\$7.5bn), to be approved by a special shareholders' meeting next January.

The resignations follow last week's rejection by Mr Raul Gardini, the head of the Ferruzzi-Montedison group, of the terms set out by Eni, Montedison's public-sector partner in Enimont, for the sale of its 40 per cent stake in the company.

Accusing Eni of not observing the government's agreed procedure for a negotiated divorce between the two fractions partners, Mr Gardini hinted strongly that Montedison would again try to use the majority stake in Enimont's shares it holds with its allies to push through its policies on the company's board. The resignation of Enimont's five Montedison-appointed board members, along with that of two directors representing Mr Gardini's allies, now confirms that strategy.

The resignations trigger a procedure whereby all 12 board members, including Eni's five representatives, are obliged to step down. A new board will be appointed at a shareholders' meeting due on November 14 and 15, and it is likely that Montedison will try to use the meeting to elect a new board on which it will have the decisive two-thirds majority to carry through strategic decisions.

Despite his apparent advantages, opposition to Mr Gardini mounted over the weekend. On Friday, key government ministers came out in favour of Eni's stand that its sale contract was in line with the agreed divorce procedure. Such support has strengthened Eni's position, and increased the likelihood of an acrimonious legal battle should Mr Gardini try to push through his plans next week.

However, he already appears to have adjusted his position. Borrowing from Eni's counter-proposal to the Ls.10,000bn capital increase put forward by Mr Gardini for Enimont earlier this year, the company is calling for its recapitalisation to be in cash.

That would rule out, for the time being at least, the widely expected transfer of Montedison's Himoto and Ansintom subsidiaries and its contribution to Enimont's capital increase.

The opulence that borrowings can buy

By Peter Bruce in Jerez de la Frontera

UNTIL very recently, the most Spaniards knew or cared about Brent Walker was that it owned the glittering Puerto Sherry marina development just 20km south of the world's sherry capital, was thinking of floating its Spanish operation on the stock market and was about to build a new marina in Menorca. News that Mr George Walker may be facing problems has had a mixed reception.

"Oh good heavens," exclaimed a well known Madrid financier who has just bought a dwelling in the newly completed first phase at Puerto Sherry. "This is my money we're talking about here." An employee at the development merely shrugged. "If Brent Walker goes, somebody else will buy it," he insisted.

Puerto Sherry, quite empty and still this weekend, was taken over in 1983, with work on the 900 berth marina just beginning. The buyer was Aresbank, in which the Libyan and Kuwaiti government each have 30 per cent. Aresbank struggled with managing the project and by 1987 had had enough. It asked the Arab Banking Corporation, one

of Brent Walker's main creditors, to help find a buyer and the rest is history, including the garish Aquasherry water theme park just up the road which was thrown into the deal for good measure.

Brent Walker personnel will not say how much the company paid for the project, which was still in its early stages by 1988 when taken over. Some Pta16m and in capital was raised by the company then and it has since spent Pta10m and plans to invest a further Pta5m.

The project still has a long way to go. The marina is complete and one of the two hotels was hurriedly opened in August in time for the arrival of the Brent Walker Cup winners racing in from the Brighton Marina. Off to the right are rising some 440

homes and shops – probably the only ones in Andalucia not painted white. Still, most of the buyers in phase one have been Spanish and phase two is 30 per cent sold.

One hotel and two more home phases to go, though, and the Spanish home-buying boom has unfortunately peaked. The project also has an image problem locally and access is by a narrow crumpling road that the locals, almost deliberately it seems, litter with their garbage.

Puerto Sherry is one of the few modern marinas on the Andalucian

COMPANIES AND FINANCE

Monsanto reveals 41% fall and plan for restructuring

By Martin Dickson in New York

MONSANTO, one of the largest US chemical companies, suffered a 41 per cent drop in third-quarter net income – which it blamed on drought and rising oil prices – and announced a plan for restructuring of its agricultural products business.

The restructuring will involve the proposed disposal of its animal feed ingredients business, which has sales of about \$160m, and a reorganisation of its crop chemicals business on a product line basis, with some 300 job losses.

The company announced late on Friday, after the close of the stockmarket, that net income in the third quarter dropped from \$126m, or 94 cents a share, a year ago to \$76m, or 69 cents, on sales up 4 per cent at \$2.14bn.

Mr Richard Mahoney, the chairman, acknowledged the figures were disappointing and "well below what we expected going into the quarter".

Third-quarter operating income for the agricultural products unit fell from \$7m to \$3m because of continued drought in Europe and the western US. "Europe is an

Skanska sees 15% increase

By John Burton in Stockholm

SKANSKA, Sweden's largest construction company, has predicted that profits after financial items will reach SKr2.35bn (\$400m) for 1990, a 15 per cent increase, after reporting a similar earnings rise for the eight-month period to SKr1.7bn.

Sales, including rental revenues, are expected to reach SKr3.55bn for the year, an increase of 17 per cent. Sales during the eight-month period rose by 25 per cent to SKr2.2bn.

The company said more than half of the decline was due to "last in, first out" inventory accounting, and the company planned to recover a large part of its cost increases through higher selling prices. Operating income at the Searle pharmaceuticals unit rose from \$4m to \$2m, with Fisher Controls up from \$1.7m to \$2.4m.

But Nutrasweet, the artificial sweetener business, saw a dip from \$3m to \$2.7m because of new product start-up costs.

The company said the restructuring, which will not involve its animal and plant sciences divisions, should not affect net income this year and should mean a net gain when completed.

Noranda barely achieves a profit in third quarter

By Bernard Simon in Toronto

NORANDA, the Canadian resources giant, barely eked out a profit in the third quarter after suffering losses in its forestry operations and feeling the pinch from lower metal prices.

Net earnings were C\$15m (US\$15.5m) or 1 cent a share, down from C\$16m or 49 cents a year earlier. Revenues rose slightly to C\$2.7bn from C\$2.6bn.

The results were buoyed by Noranda's acquisition of a 50 per cent stake last year in nickel producer Falconbridge. The inclusion of Falconbridge, which enjoyed a strong third quarter, pushed earnings of the mineral division up to C\$61m, from C\$17m.

Falconbridge's contribution, higher copper prices and some base metal operations more than offset a drop in zinc prices and a strike at the big Brunswick zinc mine.

The forestry division suffered a C\$1m loss, compared

with a profit of C\$50m last year. Noranda said the setback reflects mounting weakness in all markets for forest products. The company's forestry operations, which include a controlling interest in Macmillan Bloedel of Vancouver, have reduced pulp and paper capacity in the face of poor demand.

Earnings from energy and manufacturing were almost unchanged.

Noranda also felt the impact of high interest rates on its C\$4bn debt load. Third-quarter borrowing costs and corporate expenses more than quadrupled to C\$6m.

The company said it expects a recovery in the fourth quarter, provided base metal prices remain around present levels and the strength in the oil market continues.

Nine-month earnings were slashed to C\$15m or 51 cents a share, from C\$18m or C\$1.94 a share, in 1989. Revenues rose 5.7 per cent to C\$7.28bn.

Strike-hit Stelco reverses into a deficit of C\$48.96m

By Robert Gibbons in Montreal

STELCO, Canada's second largest steelmaker, with plants shut down for three months, has suffered a C\$48.9m (US\$42.5m) loss for the third quarter, against profits of C\$22.7m or 54 cents a share.

The loss for the nine-month period was \$55.9m, or \$1.29 a share, against profit of \$83.3m, or \$2.05 a share. Sales were \$1.9bn against \$1.15bn.

The strike is believed close to a settlement following a new company offer. But Stelco has already halved its quarterly dividend, cut management salaries, and slashed capital spending.

However, because of the length of the strike, many customers, such as car compa-

nies, have switched orders to other Canadian and US suppliers.

Campneau Massachusetts, a Boston property firm indirectly owned by troubled Campneau Corp of Canada, has filed for US Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. Its Lafayette Place shopping mall in Boston is subject to a foreclosure move by Manufacturers Hanover, the US bank.

Campneau Massachusetts is a subsidiary of Federated Stores, Campneau Corp's US retailing group in Chapter 11 since last January.

Lafayette Place management said under Chapter 11 the Mall could remain open and continue leasing efforts.

This announcement does not constitute an offer of units and appears on a matter of record only. The offer has now closed. Application has been made to the Council of the International Stock Exchange of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland Limited ("the Stock Exchange") for the units to be admitted to the Official List. It is expected that the units will be admitted to the Official List on or about November 1990 and that dealings will commence on 1st November 1990.

NEW ISSUE 29th October 1990

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Chevron hit by increase in oil costs

By Alan Friedman in New York

CHEVRON, the fourth biggest US oil company, said its third-quarter net income declined by 3 per cent to \$403m, or \$1.14 a share, while its operational results were 21 per cent lower because the cost of buying crude oil rose by more than the average increase in refined product prices.

Results from US oil majors have been mixed for the third quarter, with some companies reaping a benefit from the

spike in oil prices caused by the Iraqi crisis and others, like Chevron, finding that market arithmetic was against them.

Mr Ken Derr, Chevron's chairman, said the company's average crude oil acquisition costs for its US operations rose by 30 cents a gallon for September, compared with July.

During that time, Chevron's average refined product prices were only 26 cents a gallon higher.

Revenues for the third quarter jumped to \$10.5bn from \$9.8bn a year ago, while net income for the first nine months of 1990 was \$1.5bn, up by 34 per cent on nine-month revenues of \$2.85bn, up from \$2.35bn in the same period for 1989.

Chevron's US exploration and production operations earned \$201m in the third quarter, a leap from \$86m a year ago. However, US refining and

marketing reported a third-quarter loss of \$83m – equivalent to the company's spending on environmental programmes in the quarter – compared with \$133m of earnings in the 1989 period.

The chemicals operations business incurred a \$6 per cent drop in profits to \$125m, while minerals operations were down to just \$7m, compared with \$42m a year ago.

The two companies said:

"Due in major part to the recent turmoil in world financial markets and in particular in the US banking community, Ball has not yet arranged financing and the certainty of closing the transaction on the agreed-upon terms and time-frame has become compromised."

Asked if this meant the deal was dead, Ball said that was "probably a fair conclusion".

Ball's failure to secure bank funding underlines the difficulties faced by US companies attempting to make acquisitions. The takeover battle came to a virtual halt during the latter half of 1990.

Under the CCE deal, Ball

was aiming to pay \$2.5bn in cash and around \$400m in paper. The paper portion would have given Peter Kiewit, the private company which owns CCE, a 29 per cent voting stake in Ball. When the deal was announced in late July, Ball said its gearing would rise to around 60 per cent as a result of the transaction.

Ball fails in European financing

By Nikki Tait in New York

THE \$1.03bn deal by Ball Corporation, the Indiana-based packaging and aerospace products group, to buy Continental Can's European packaging interests has failed, though both sides of the deal are facing problems.

The two companies said:

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SWEDISH BONDS

Investors in a storm before the calm

SWEDEN'S bond market, which has had a turbulent month with rumours of a krona devaluation and two sharp interest rises, was preparing itself for further upheaval on Friday in anticipation of the Social Democratic government's austerity package.

When the measures were announced after trading closed, the reaction was generally negative, with predictions that market interest rates are likely to rise. Traders were disappointed that government spending cuts of SKr15bn were less than the SKr25bn they were expecting, and that the government failed to link the krona to the EMS or provide a specific timetable for a Swedish application to join the EC.

Mr Jan Carlsson, head of money market and foreign exchange trading for Svenska Handelsbanken, said the country could "expect another interest rate shock before the end of the year" following the Central

Bank's decision this month to force short-term market interest rates up by 5 percentage points to 17 per cent.

The high interest rate is likely to continue until the September 1991 elections unless early elections are called. The recent increases were aimed at preventing a run on the krona based on speculation about a devaluation. Traders believe the government's package has failed to dispel fears about a devaluation, although the government has publicly ruled out such a course of action.

Rates on six-month Swedish treasury bills began climbing in mid-October, starting the month at 13.71 and hitting a peak of 14.10 on October 17. Bond prices started the month at SKr52.46 and finished on Friday at SKr51.70 after falling to SKr51.42.

The yield decline reflects heavy trading in recent days in the five-year government bonds as investors bid housing bonds, which form the biggest segment

of the Swedish bond market and are considered less secure than government paper. Traders expect yields on long-term bonds to start rising again, following a gradual increase on government bonds since June when the yield stood at 13 per cent.

But given the volatility of the political and economic situation and the opportunities this offers for interest arbitrage between Swedish and foreign rates, attention will mainly focus on the six-month treasury bills.

But some analysts believe that those investing in longer-term bonds should bear in mind that more settled economic conditions would appear at the end of 1991, due to an expected fall in the inflation rate, which has been bolstered by sharp rises in indirect taxation as part of Sweden's tax reform programme, and bringing in its wake lower interest rates.

John Burton

UK GILTS

A glimmer of sunshine amid all the gloom

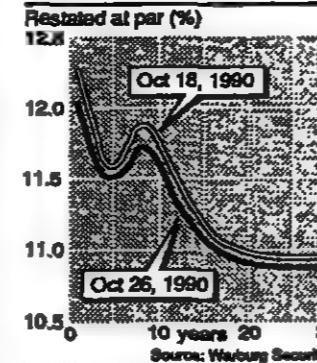
ECONOMIC OPTIMISTS could focus on some bright spots in this gloomy hiatus between entry to the exchange rate mechanism and next month's Autumn Statement.

Last week's best moment came with the joyful release of the September trade figures, which propped up the gilts market by a point for the rest of the week. The Treasury 11% per cent benchmark stock maturing in 2003/07 closed at 101.10 on Friday to yield 11.44 per cent, also taking encouragement of better times ahead from the easing oil price.

A rosy look at the UK's inflation performance by Greenwell Montagu's gilt-edged economics team had little impact but considerable implications for the gilt market. The team did not see much to shout about in the short term, as the October inflation rate could rise to a dismaying 11 per cent. It was in the UK's prospects that Greenwell saw room for hope, with inflation failing to 5 per cent by the end of 1991.

The London Business School's latest forecast, out today, offers similar hope. It estimates the September 10.9 per cent rate was the peak; and

UK gilts yields



Source: Watney Securities

producer prices are easing down because weak demand is exerting greater pressure than labour costs.

If both these forecasts prove accurate, this would give a great fillip to gilt prices. Yields would sink towards those on French and German government bonds as the inflation differential between the UK and the European average narrowed to about one percentage point or less.

Holders of UK bonds could sell at a profit as falling domestic inflation leads to lower yields, giving bonds' coupons higher real values.

From here on, the bright spots get dimmer, as much lower inflation is still over a year away. News about the current spending round is bleak, with markets expecting confirmation in the Autumn Statement of a £7bn overspend, absolute falls in output in the second half of the year, and a return to budget balance instead of predicted debt repayment of £6.9bn.

It is also thought to have sold the same amount of stock when Britain joined the ERM, and surging demand for gilts caused market-makers to call on the Bank to supply. So far the Bank is thought to have sold only £500m altogether.

Rachel Johnson

POLAND

The Financial Times proposes to publish this survey on:

26th November 1990

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US MONEY AND CREDIT

Budget deal sets stage for Fed easing

THE stage could be set for the Federal Reserve to engineer a cut in short-term interest rates.

Politically, the passage by Congress of the budget compromise, and President Bush's assurances that he will sign it into law, may allow Mr Alan Greenspan, the Fed chairman, to ease. Economically, some statistics due out this week could give the Fed an opening to ease, provided they underline the dangers of the US slipping into recession.

Third-quarter GNP figures,

due tomorrow, are unlikely to be the trigger, since analysts expect them to present a healthier view of the economy than in the second quarter, with growth increasing from 0.4 per cent to around 1 per cent.

However, much of that growth may stem from inventory accumulation - particularly of motor vehicles - and statistical technicalities are likely to reduce the inflation rate used as a GNP deflator. Furthermore, growth may prove to have been strong early in the quarter, only to slow in September.

The October employment report, due out on Friday, will provide the first real glimpse of the economy's performance in the current quarter - analysis expect a slow-down to really

move, however, the Fed's action is hardly going to be dramatic - probably shaving 25 basis points off the Fed funds rate, to 7.75 per cent. The flood of paper, and lack of foreign enthusiasm for it,

US MONEY MARKET RATES (%)						
	Last Friday	1 week ago	4 weeks ago	12-month ago	12-month live	
Fed Funds target rate	7.75	7.75	8.75	9.25	7.75	
Discount Window	7.75	7.75	8.75	9.11	7.75	
6-month Treasury Bills	7.45	7.55	7.51	9.37	7.18	
1-year Treasury Bills	8.10	8.15	9.05	10.25	8.27	
30-day Commercial Paper	7.70	8.05	10.05	10.75	7.70	
90-day Commercial Paper	7.70	8.05	10.05	10.75	7.70	

US BOND PRICES AND YIELDS (%)						
	Last Friday	Change in %	Yield	1 week ago	4 wks ago	12 mos ago
30-year Treasury	101.28	-1.47	8.75	8.47	8.16	8.16
10-year Treasury	104.72	-1.47	8.75	8.74	8.64	8.64

Money supply: In the week ended October 15, M1 fell by \$27bn to \$879.5bn

spread unchanged, and was underlined on Friday when a delayed auction of one-year bills attracted a 4.55-to-1 bid to cover ratio and an average discount rate of 7.01 per cent; the lowest in nearly 2½ years.

The short end of the government market may also be benefiting from a flight to quality, with yield spreads relative to Treasuries widening in the corporate market amid concerns about credit quality.

This was underlined last week when Citicorp had to raise the dividend rate on a tranche of auction rate preferred stock to 12.5 per cent to ensure a successful auction. Confidence in the nation's largest bank is so impaired that, as the newsletter Grant's Interest Rate Observer said: "At the margin its cost of capital is higher than that of any customer to which its credit department would comfortably want to lend."

Martin Dickson

MNI TOKYO BOND INDEX						
	20/10/90	Average	Last week	12 wks ago	26 wks ago	
Overall	104.63	7.77	144.02	104.53	142.90	
Government Bonds	102.35	7.69	141.65	101.95	140.51	
Corporate Bonds	104.15	7.85	145.75	104.15	145.75	
Bank Deposits	104.18	7.75	143.55	104.15	143.55	
Corporate Bonds Yield 6mths	104.69	8.05	145.49	102.27	145.49	
Government 10-year	7.25	7.31	7.05	6.88	6.88	

Source:

INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL MARKETS

INTERNATIONAL BONDS

Swiss safe haven dictum holds true

IN TIMES of turmoil, Switzerland has always been something of a safe haven. In the shadow of the Gulf crisis the dictum appears to hold true. The Swiss bond market is open for business – but only at a price.

Last week borrowers raised \$F1.35bn in the market and \$F1.1bn in the week before, equivalent to the levels of a year ago. Yet issuance is dominated by Japanese industrial companies, offering access to the Tokyo stock market through either convertible bonds or equity warrants.

Moreover, the cost of funds has soared over the past 18 months, leading some analysts to question the quality of business coming to the market.

Convertible Swiss franc bond issues now carry a coupon of around 8% per cent, with a yield-to-put of 9 per cent or more – about 150 to 200 basis points above interbank borrowing rates.

At the beginning of 1988, typical coupons were around 4% per cent, with a yield-to-put of around 4 per cent.

When the market was reopened in July following a three-month hiatus, coupons stood at around 4 per cent, with a yield-to-put of 6 per cent. Thus, although the cost of borrowing has been increasing for some time, new levels have been set since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

But faced by a sharp tightening of bank lending at home, Japanese companies are turning to the Swiss market to finance expansion.

Smaller companies unable to tap other sources can still, at a price, raise funds in Switzerland.

EUROMARKET TURNOVER (\$bn)

Primary Market	Stamps	Cash	FIR	Other
US\$	513.3	60.0	20.5	12.8
DM	1,048.0	60.0	20.0	14,287.7
Other	1,548.5	187.7	22.2	8,070.0
Total	4,007.8	312.7	40.3	64,603.0
Secondary Market				
US\$	14,283.0	1,013.7	3,082.4	7,088.4
DM	22,959.0	1,463.4	3,245.7	37,632.4
Other	22,959.0	1,463.4	3,245.7	37,632.4
Total	59,701.0	3,939.5	6,373.4	72,353.2
Market to October 25, 1990				
Source: ABIS				

Simon London

Source: ABIS

Simon London

Source: ABIS

INTERNATIONAL LENDING

The syndicated loan boot shifts to the other foot

THIS LAST time the syndicated loans market experienced the kind of turbulence it is experiencing now was in 1982.

Then, the announcement by Mexico that it could not pay its foreign debts triggered a widespread retreat from sovereign lending by banks. Indiscriminate lending to governments in Latin America and elsewhere was followed by an equally indiscriminate pullback from such lending.

To find a parallel in the retreat from corporate lending, bankers with long enough memories go back to 1974, following the collapse of Bank Bruxelles and the quadrupling of oil prices. At that time, the syndicated loan market was relatively underdeveloped and most companies carried bilateral and private credit lines with individual banks.

The turbulence in the market in recent weeks is evidence of a shift in the balance of power between corporate borrowers and their bank lenders. After years in which corporate treasurers and finance directors could almost dictate terms to their bankers, the boot now seems to be on the other foot.

This sounds like good news for them. Some companies have turned to this advantage. Mounigh, the UK property group, recently bought in \$F1.15m of bonds via a tender offer. The paper was trading between 40 per cent and 70 per cent of redemption value. However, these prices imply yields of more than 30 per cent – a prohibitive barrier to entry for any new issuers with anything less than an impeccable rating.

Poly Peck is the biggest UK corporate borrower in the Swiss franc market, but other companies with outstanding issues include British Land, Enterprise Oil, Maxwell Communications and Standard Chartered.

Poly Peck's decision to call in the administrators with \$F650m of bonds outstanding is a further blow to confidence. The bondholders are, in theory, covered by highly protective bond documentation, including covenants which allow for early redemption in the event of any other default by the issuer or any other obligation.

However, in a corporate collapse of the speed of Poly Peck, such protection proved illusory. On Thursday, Warburg Soditic acted unilaterally to protect the bondholders by invoking the early redemption clause. But, also, it was too late. The investors will now have to take their place in the queue alongside other senior unsecured creditors. Negotiations with the administrators are likely to be long and painful.

Simon London

for bankers, since it means the returns on their future lending will be higher. In fact, it is a silver paper lining on a storm cloud since banks must live with their recent folly.

For the last eight years, international banks have been piling into corporate lending. In the scramble for business, they have pushed interest margins down to levels where to lend money has been to lose it. At the same time, they have tolerated among them corporate customers higher levels of debt. In this free-for-all, the traditional relationships between banks and corporate customers have been loosened.

It has taken a coincidence of factors, underlined by new international standards of bank capital adequacy, to change this picture. Banks have known about these new rules, which come into effect in 1992, for some time. Many are rather belatedly becoming concerned that they might not reach the minimum 8 per cent ratio of capital to assets.

Among them are the Japanese banks, who are responsible. It is estimated, for half of all new international bank lending in the late 1980s. With

their capital being eaten away by the collapse in the Japanese stock markets, they have sharply curtailed their international lending. So have, for their own reasons, the American and German banks.

This follows the build-up of debt in companies, especially those in the US, UK, Australia and Canada, to unprecedented levels. Their vulnerability to banks' new-found caution and the prospect of recession in the US and UK is correspondingly high and underlined by some of the half a dozen corporate failures seen so far this year in the UK. (Ironically, German and Japanese companies generally tolerate higher levels of debt than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, but appear to be better cushioned by the closeness of their relationships with their main banks.)

If this results in a credit squeeze, it may be coming earlier in the current recession than in previous ones. This is not only a function of the unusually high levels of corporate debt. Because of the Basle accords, banks cannot afford to let their capital take the strain of losses on their corporate loans. Because they cannot

raise equity, they have to try to move earlier to avoid losses.

Furthermore, sales by some banks – particularly Arab and US institutions – of loan portfolios this year at a discount of face value creates a secondary market for bank loans. This secondary market may be sending a message: there is presumably little incentive for banks to pick up new assets at levels below those prevailing in the secondary market.

The uncertainty in the syndicated loans market was underlined last week by the row between PowerGen and National Power, the two UK generating companies to be privatised in February. The two companies do not have a choice about going to market, since the UK government has imposed strict rules on the timing of privatisation.

Both expected to pay significantly more to banks than the electricity distribution companies which preceded them to market. What divides them is how much more.

To the surprise of National Power, which believed it had an agreement with PowerGen that they approach the bank

market together, PowerGen moved early to seek underwriters on its £1bn five-year credit through Samuel Montagu and SG Warburg. It was seeking banks at a commitment fee of 12½ basis points, rising to 15 after two years, and an interest margin of 25 basis points.

Although underwriters had been found for half the credit by the end of last week, there were concerns that the pricing was too fine and sufficient underwriters could not be found. However, after Manufacturers Hanover and Barclays launched their £1.5bn credit for National Power, a repricing of the PowerGen deal became no longer a debate but a certainty.

National Power will pay a commitment fee of 18.75 basis points for two years, and 20 basis points for the remaining term, and an interest margin of 27½ basis points, rising to 40. Underwriting fees of 7½ basis points are also payable. PowerGen was immediately forced to reprice to 18.75 basis points as a commitment fee and a 37½ basis points interest margin.

National Power says its intelligence and that of its

advisers, Lazard, suggested that PowerGen would not have been underwritten at the proposed price. That has been underlined, it suggests, by the fact that four banks have already declined to join the deal as underwriters. For its part, PowerGen appears to believe its pitch was quenched by its rival which, by paying too much, has spoiled the syndicated loans market for other corporate borrowers.

In other deals Ratners, the UK jeweller, added its name to the slate of companies forced to reprice financings. The commitment fee on its \$300m three-year credit, led by Chase and Barclays, was raised to 10 point from 8%, and the interest margin boosted to 12½ basis points.

Showing that not only UK companies are suffering, the previous week's repricing of a £750m financing for Elf, the French state oil concern, led by Citicorp and J.P. Morgan, did not appear to provide any guarantee of success.

Stephen Fidler.

NEW INTERNATIONAL BOND ISSUES

Borrowers	Amount m.	Maturity	Av. life years	Coupon %	Price	Book runner	Offer yield %
US DOLLARS							
Tosomi Transportation [†]	100	1994	4	(5½)	100	Kanekko (Europe)	-
SDIC Credit Offcial [†]	400	1997	7	(1)	100	Goldman Sachs	-
Japan Dev.Bk [†]	200	1997	7	9½	100	J.P. Morgan Secs.	9.260
Sumitomo Chem.Bk [†]	20	1994	4	(0)	100.10	Sumitomo TsInt.	-
AUSTRALIAN DOLLARS							
Eisan [†]	50	2000	10	6.2	84	Mitsui Taiyo Kobe	12.775
Nordbanken [†]	40	2000	10	7.9	73	LTCB Int.	12.845
STERLING							
Barclays Bt plc [†]	250	1997	7	12½	101½	BBW Secs.	12.500
D-MARKS							
World Bank [†]	750	2000	10	9	101½	Deutsche Bk	8.789
EIB [†]	400	1997	9	101½	101½	Deutsche Bk	8.778
SWISS FRANCS							
Kyoto Keikaku [†]	50	1994	-	6	100	Bank Leu	6.000
Tohoku Electric Power [†]	200	1997	-	7½	101	UBS	7.312
Hokusei Ind. [†]	50	1995	-	5½	100	BSI	5.530
Rioch Eleme [†]	45	1995	-	6	100	Wirtschaft & Privatbank	5.980
Nippon Mic [†]	30	1995	-	6½	100	Swiss Vottbank	6.114
Sokkisha Co.(c) [†]	50	1995	-	5½	100	BSI	5.825
Chion Ind.(d) [†]	40	1994	-	5½	100	Bank Leu	5.500
AEZ Fin.Japan [†]	100	2000	-	7½	101½	HSBC Paribas Suisses	7.008
Hitachi [†]	35	1995	-	6½	100	HanDesk Bank Network	5.500
Japan Fin [†]	30	1995	-	6½	100	Nomura Bk (Switz)	6.114
Ando Corp [†]	30	1995	-	6	100	Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bk	8.000
Air France [†]	100	2000	-	7½	101½	Nomura Bk (Switz)	7.285
Yamada Denki Co.(j) [†]	35	1995	-	6½	100	Nomura Bk (Switz)	6.114
Nippon Tochi-Tatemonoy [†]	20	1997	-	6	100½	Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bk	7.904
ECUs							
Swedbank [†]	100	1995	5	(4)	100	CSFB	-

This announcement appears as a matter of record only.

October, 1990



Export Development Corporation

Lit. 150,000,000,000

12¾ per cent. Notes due 1993

Issue Price 101.25 per cent.

Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino

Banca d'America e d'Italia

Deutsche Bank Group

Banco di Roma

Paribas Capital Markets Group

Banca Euromobiliare

Banco di Napoli

Italian International Bank plc

Banco Bilbao Vizcaya, S.A.

Banque Bruxelles Lambert S.A.

BMO Nesbitt Thomson Limited

Compagnie Monégasque de Banque

Crédit Commercial de France

AUTHORISED UNIT TRUSTS

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Guide to pricing of Authorised Unit Trusts

Compiled with the assistance of Lautro 55

HISTORIC PERIOD: The letter H denotes the segments we normally send on the net as the most recent information. The section

OFFER PRICE: ~~Any quoted base price. The term "offered price" is not intended to encompass~~

RED PRICE: Also called minimum price. The price a work must be sold back by preview.

CANCELLATION PRICE: The option cancellation price. The maximum spread between the offer, quote or bid or replacement bid, forward bid, forward offer or forward quote.

other than the government, in particular those with such managers, create a much greater spread. As a result, the job market is often not strong. The

SCHEMES PARTICULARS AND REPORTS: The stock record report and

TIME: The race begins alongside the Ford

Other explanatory values are contained in the last column of the ET Standard Deviations.

15. Life Assessment and Death Trend
Repository Development

Other Pubs:
22 Old Bond Street, London W1A 1AB
Tel 071-329-2442.

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Unit Price	Offer Price	Yield Gross	Cust- odian	Ref. Price	Vield Gross	Cust- odian	Unit Price	Offer Price	Yield Gross	Cust- odian	Ref. Price	Vield Gross	Cust- odian	Unit Price	Offer Price	Yield Gross	Cust- odian	
Baring Int Fund Managers Guernsey Ltd	197.21	183.31		221.01			Sarasin (Isle of Man) Ltd	172.36			172.36			HSBC Britannia International Limited - Commercial Union Luxembourg SA - Contd.	810.352	499.95		
Baring Portfolio Fund Ltd	197.21	183.31		221.01			Target International Ltd	172.36			172.36			S.S. Worldwide Asset Management Ltd SA - Contd.	810.352	499.95		
Baring Currents Fund Ltd	171.62			247.04			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			Tropicana Worldwide Investments				
Baring Diversified Fund	171.62			247.04			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			GAM Food Management Ltd (a)	810.352	499.95		
Starline Fund	171.62			247.04			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Deutsche Fund	125.77	113.41		247.04			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Johnson Fund	130.22	113.32		247.04			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Standard Fund	130.22	113.32		247.04			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Darttrust Management (Guernsey) Ltd							American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Darttrust Limited	104.157	115.41		148.83			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Flightpath Consult Fund Mgmt (Guernsey) Ltd							American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Hartville C & F Ltd	159.87	157.87		161.65			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
John Greatv. Managed International Ltd	103.16	103.16		135.25			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Greatv. Star Fund Ltd	103.16	103.16		135.25			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Energy & Resources	130.84	103.73		135.25			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Hamers Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	159.64	9.021		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Hamers Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	159.64	9.021		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Harvest Thoroughbred Mgmt (GMI) Ltd	129.90	10.500		120.00			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Int'l Strategic Inv Inc	142.42	121.31		150.476			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Henderson Admin. (Guernsey)							American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Henderson Admin. (Guernsey)							American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Henderson Admin. (Guernsey)							American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Hill Samuel Fund Mgmt (GMI) Ltd	104.97	2.613		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Hill Samuel Fund Mgmt (GMI) Ltd	104.97	2.613		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Kleinwort Benson Islamic Fund Mgmt Ltd	151.70	10.301	4.173	143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Kleinwort Benson Islamic Fund Mgmt Ltd	151.70	10.301	4.173	143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				
Lazard Fund Managers (GMI) Ltd	126.16	2.971		143.785			American Small Cos Fund	81.69	77.72		81.69			North Star Fund Management Ltd				

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MOTORS, AIRCRAFT TRADES - Contd

Market Cap. Val.	Stock	Price	Yield %	Dividends	City
9 Delabey Panel	460	1.6	6.8	Sep Feb	
12 Arrow Streamline	145	3.4	6.8	Sep Feb	
13 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
14 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
15 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
16 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
17 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
18 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
19 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
20 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
21 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
22 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
23 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
24 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
25 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
Components	460	1.6	6.8	Sep Feb	
12 Arrow Streamline	145	3.4	6.8	Sep Feb	
13 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
14 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
15 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
16 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
17 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
18 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
19 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
20 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
21 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
22 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
23 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
24 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
Garages and Distributors	460	1.6	6.8	Sep Feb	
62 Alexander Ind.	145	5.9	6.8	March	
42 Alexander Ind.	145	5.9	6.8	March	
43 Alexander Ind.	145	5.9	6.8	March	
17 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
18 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
19 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
20 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
21 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
22 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
23 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
24 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	

NEWSPAPERS, PUBLISHERS

Market Cap. Val.	Stock	Price	Yield %	Dividends	City
5.5 Advertisers	31	5.4	14.2	Sep Apr	1992
12 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
13 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
14 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
15 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
16 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
17 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
18 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
19 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
20 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
21 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
22 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
23 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
24 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
PAPER, PRINTING, ADVERTISING	460	1.6	6.8	Sep Feb	
12 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
13 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
14 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
15 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
16 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
17 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
18 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
19 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
20 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
21 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
22 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
23 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
24 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	

PAPER, PRINTING, ADVERTISING

Market Cap. Val.	Stock	Price	Yield %	Dividends	City
12 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
13 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
14 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
15 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
16 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
17 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
18 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
19 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
20 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
21 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
22 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
23 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
24 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
25 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
26 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
27 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
28 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
29 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
30 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
31 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
32 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
33 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
34 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
35 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
36 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
37 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
38 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
39 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
40 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
41 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
42 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
43 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
44 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
45 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
46 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
47 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
48 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
49 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
50 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
51 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
52 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
53 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
54 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
55 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
56 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
57 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
58 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
59 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
60 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
61 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
62 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
63 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
64 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
65 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
66 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
67 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
68 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
69 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
70 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
71 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
72 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
73 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
74 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
75 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	Sep Feb	
76 Arrow Streamline	145	3.2	6.8	S	

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE COMPOSITE PRICES

4pm prices October 26

Continued on Page 3

NYSE COMPOSITE PRICES

T2 Month PV \$80
High Low Stock Div. Yld. E 1988 High Lo
Continued from previous Page

Continued from previous Page																Sales figures are unofficial. Yearly highs and lows reflect the previous 52 weeks plus the current week, but not the latest trading day. Where a split or stock dividend amounting to 25 percent or more has been paid, the year's high-low range and dividend are shown for the new stock only. Unless otherwise noted, rates of dividend are annual disbursements based on the latest declaration.									
P/E 52w				Close Prev. Close/Close				P/E 52w				Close Prev. Close/Close				P/E 52w				Close Prev. Close/Close					
High	Low	Stock	Div. Yield	100w	High	Low	Close	High	Low	Stock	Div. Yield	100w	High	Low	Close	High	Low	Stock	Div. Yield	100w	High	Low	Close		
35%	15%	Raven	.33	17	69	157	105	105	105	-	-	-	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	
22%	14%	Ranfif	.34	1.5	5	22	155	155	155	-	-	-	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155
16%	14%	Reynor	.35	6	6	40	155	155	155	-	-	-	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155
5%	11%	ReyOg	.20	24	17	135	245	245	245	-	-	-	245	245	245	245	245	245	245	245	245	245	245	245	245
16%	11%	ReySt	.1	1	1	15	15	15	15	-	-	-	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
7%	11%	REIT	1.42	11.	9	12	12	12	12	-	-	-	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
20%	6%	Reebok	.20	2.3	7	851	105	5	5	-	-	-	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105	105
15%	5%	Regal	.52	1.5	7	7	7	7	7	-	-	-	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
6%	4%	RegGrp	.33	6.5	28	44	47	45	45	-	-	-	47	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45
30%	12%	Repeal	.35	3.5	3.5	326	24	235	235	-	-	-	24	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	235	235
55%	34%	RepGp	.18	5.1	75	71	34	34	34	-	-	-	71	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34
75%	14%	Reps	.35	3.5	35	35	35	35	35	-	-	-	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
22%	14%	ReyRoy	.50	6.5	17	171	125	125	125	-	-	-	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125
60%	18%	ReyT	.12	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
67%	14%	ReyT	.50	6.5	17	171	125	125	125	-	-	-	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125
58%	14%	ReyT	.12	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
22%	14%	ReyT	.50	6.5	17	171	125	125	125	-	-	-	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125
14%	5%	ReyT	.12	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
22%	14%	ReyT	.50	6.5	17	171	125	125	125	-	-	-	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125
14%	5%	ReyT	.12	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
22%	14%	ReyT	.50	6.5	17	171	125	125	125	-	-	-	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125
14%	5%	ReyT	.12	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
22%	14%	ReyT	.50	6.5	17	171	125	125	125	-	-	-	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125
14%	5%	ReyT	.12	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
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14%	5%	ReyT	.12	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
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Sales figures are unofficial. Yearly highs and lows reflect the previous 12 weeks plus the current week, but not the latest trading day. Where a split or stock dividend amounting to 25 percent or more has been paid, the year's high-only range and dividend are shown for the new stock only. Unless otherwise noted, rates of dividend are annual distributions based on the latest declaration.

a-dividend ratio xtra (x). b-annual rate of dividend plus stock dividend. c-liquidating dividend. d-new yearly low. e-dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months. f-dividend in Canadian funds, subject to 15% non-residence tax. g-dividend declared after split-up or stock dividend. h-dividend paid this year, omitted, deferred, or no action taken at latest dividend meeting. k-dividend declared or paid this year, an accumulative issue with dividends in arrears. n-new issue in the past 12 weeks. The high-low range begins with the start of trading. o-next day delivery. P/E price-earnings ratio. r-dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months, plus stock dividend. s-stock split. Dividends begin with date of split, s-a-siles. t-dividend paid in stock in preceding 12months, estimated cash value on ex-dividend or ex-distribution date. u-new yearly high. v-trading halted. w-in bankruptcy or receivership or being organised under the Bankruptcy Act, or securities assumed by such companies. wd-distributed, wh-when issued, we-with warrants, x-ex-dividend or ex-rights. xde-ex-distribution, xe-without warrants. y-ex-dividend and sales final. yd-yield. z-sales in full.

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MONDAY INTERVIEW

The man who would yet be king

Lech Walesa, chairman of Solidarity, speaks to Christopher Bobinski

When he looks back over the past 10 years Mr Lech Walesa likes to say that he rarely put a foot wrong — a confidence born during his time of struggle. Then, as head of Solidarity, eastern Europe's first free trade union, or during martial law, he embodied Poland's wish to be rid of its communist masters. But now he faces quite a different test on November 25, in his first electoral battle for Poland's presidency.

Now a portly 47-year-old, Mr Walesa is the very image of the experienced trade union boss he never really was, given that Solidarity's political functions were always more important than its shop floor concerns. In his office on the second floor of Solidarity's headquarters in Gdansk, a few yards away from the Lenin shipyard where the union's story began in 1980, Mr Walesa is relaxed.

But downstairs in his campaign headquarters, where the communications equipment has been freshly installed, there has been just a little concern about reports that the collection of the 100,000 signatures he needed to be nominated was going more slowly than expected. Now that 500,000 signatures have been amassed, the mood is more relaxed, but it still does not match the enthusiasm that accompanied last year's elections, when Solidarity had little trouble getting nominated, then elected.

Though activists in the camp of Mr Walesa's rival, Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the prime minister and once his friend, have collected fewer signatures, people are growing tired of Solidarity. They are wary of a movement that once promised so much but now appears to be drifting in the face of the challenges thrown up by mounting unemployment and high inflation.

A few days ago, Mr Walesa was convinced that he would be facing only Mr Mazowiecki and that 80 per cent of the vote was in the bag. Now he is worried that other, lesser candidates, such as the personable Mr Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, backed by the Social Democratic party (SDRP), once the Polish Communist party, or Mr Roman Bartoszczak from the biggest farmers' party, the PSL, will take votes away from the front-runners and force a second ballot. This could happen under a rule book which requires the winner of the first ballot to have 50 per cent of the vote. If the winner has less than 50 per cent, then the election goes to a second ballot where whoever has a simple majority is elected.

Mr Walesa wants to get a



'I shall go against the popular trend if need be'

large majority to enable him to steer the country single-handed in the tough times that lie ahead. "Democratically, of course," he adds almost mechanically, well aware of suspicion that his victory would herald a more authoritarian rule. But he says: "We will have strength in diversity but also strength which creates unity."

A second ballot which would dash his strategy. Mr Walesa believes he is the only man in the country, save perhaps for Mr Jacek Kuron, a former dissident and now the labour minister, who has the common touch which allows him to communicate with the people.

Once he became president, social and political problems would be resolved by travelling around the country and explaining what he wants directly to the people. "That would be my role as number one." What happens though when his arguments lose their persuasiveness? "They won't, I'll have new ones." Would he use force? "Never, I'd rather surrender."

Mr Walesa criticises the government for failing to make people understand its policies. "They haven't been able to translate the great work they've done into everyday language. The nation can be persuaded to put up with unpopular things if it's treated seriously. That's what I'm going to do. I shall go against the popular trend if need be, saying 'Stop, let's talk.'

Mr Walesa accuses Mr Mazowiecki, with some justice, of being a politician who is hapless in the role of eminence grise and ill at ease with crowds. "He can deliver a brilliant speech in a basement to four mice and they won't even applaud because they didn't understand." Now Mr Walesa judges that his greatest mistake was that he did not challenge the present coalition government earlier this year when it became clear that the ancien régime was collapsing throughout eastern Europe.

In August 1989 when Mr Walesa put forward Mr Mazowiecki as head of eastern Europe's first non-communist-dominated government, compromises still had to be made with the then ruling establishment; leading communists stayed in key posts. The communists have now been forced to the sidelines and the political formula, according to Mr Walesa, had already outlived its usefulness nine months ago. But the economic policies were right, he says, referring to the government's IMF-approved

austerity programme which has slowed inflation but produced a fall in industrial output of more than 25 per cent.

Mr Walesa, who is sensitive about criticism that he is a populist, says he wants to build on the achievements of Mr Leszek Balcerowicz, the deputy premier and finance minister responsible for this economic policy. Indeed, Mr Balcerowicz could well be asked to head the interim government between the November 25 presidential election and parliamentary elections next year. "Our direction would be Balcerowicz but with more market" Mr Walesa says in his typical shorthand manner, which at times belies his claim to be a natural communicator.

Now, however, in spite of the austerity package, money has

the economic and political situation the less you will see of Walesa. If it's worse you'll see more of him", he says.

His tactics until now have been to split the Solidarity movement into rival factions, thus giving him the freedom to pick allies at will. This bolsters his own political position but it poses a threat for democracy in the future should he emerge as the sole leader with any authority. But for the moment he is encouraging an element of pluralism.

Ironically this strategy of encouraging the growth of small parties and splits in his own camp has saved Poland from being run by a united Solidarity for decades to come. His rivals now in the Mazowiecki camp had originally aimed to build one big political movement based on Solidarity which threatened to give him merely a ceremonial role. Mr Walesa accuses politicians such as Mr Bronislaw Geremek, his former adviser, of seeking to close the movement to fresh blood. "I'm the one who brought in new faces. I'm the one who prepared for elections. And they say they are democrats," he says.

As for foreign policy, Mr Walesa sees that Germany will be "busy with itself" for several years. He does, however, have reservations about what is happening in the Soviet Union. "It's falling apart, republics are emerging. No one likes to lose, let alone empires," he adds, warning that an attempt to retain unity could be made by the Kremlin by "conjuring up an external threat... That's one of the reasons I'm now fighting for more unity here," he says, returning to the theme of his presidency.

Franked in his name by a small state of Joseph Pilsudski, a national leader who ran Poland with an autocratic style that included limiting parliament's prerogatives from 1928 until his death in 1935, Mr Walesa does not deny he wants to play a dominant role as president. He sees himself as a guardian of the national interest who will oversee the government and step in when he judges the need arises, using "peaceful arguments" not force, he stresses. "The better

PERSONAL FILE

1943 Born in Popowo, near Torun, Poland.
1961 Graduated from vocational school, Lipno.
1965-67 Military service.
1967-76, 1980- Electrician, Lenin shipyard, Gdansk.
1970 Member, Lenin shipyard strike committee.
1980 Chairman, Gdansk interfactory strike committee.
1980-81 Chairman, Solidarity.
1982 Interned.
1983 Nobel Peace Prize.
1990 Chairman, Solidarity (second term).

to be pumped into the economy to hasten the growth of small private businesses. "The government earlier this year when it became clear that the ancien régime was collapsing throughout eastern Europe.

Mr Walesa says, referring to this year's trade results. "Can you imagine how many bakeries, garages, butchers you can set up with that."

The vision is that of a rapid

growth of the private sector

providing jobs to refugees from the moribund industrial giants.

"We want family businesses with dad the trade unionist, mom the trade unionist and the son the proletarian" is a favoured Walesa quip at least.

Privatisation, too, has to be speeded up and the share of state-owned plant Mr Walesa says he wants to give away to people varies from 40 to 60 per

cent. Mr Walesa freely admits he doesn't know how to do it yet although the process has to be "both creative and moral". Details are left to trusted aides like Mr Jacek Merkel, once a design engineer at the Gdansk shipyard and a possible future minister who sits in on conversations in Walesa's office. Mr Merkel, who is heading Walesa's election campaign, emphasises that shares in state-owned companies could indeed be distributed free but on condition they would be managed by investment trusts.

The country's \$42bn debt is a problem which exercises Mr Walesa, who is convinced that the economy will not move unless a "50-year moratorium" on interest and capital payments can be wrested from Poland's western creditors. He even suspects that "many people and countries want to keep Poland stumbling along" and that this explains unwillingness to forgive the debt which, after all, was "left to the communists". The beginnings of an encumbrance, as European history suggests, managing the US in future will be just a little slower; but the turmoil of the last three months suggests that it is harder than ever to stop the slide in earnest. If debt is manageable but a bit of an encumbrance, as European history suggests, managing the US in future will be just a little less difficult; but that is all.

Now if the new budget was half a loaf and the president had asked for a much bigger cut, one could write down the whole episode as an heroic failure; but, in fact, he has achieved, in cash terms, almost exactly what he asked for. It can be argued in Mr Bush's defence that he also asked for some important reforms of the budget-making process which would have made a major qualitative difference; but these were basically the same

Seldom, surely, has so little been gained at so much political cost. The 1991 US budget is passed at last, and will ensure that while the actual 1991 deficit will set a new record, it will not be quite so big a record as it would otherwise have been. As a result of this effort consumer confidence has collapsed — the 21-point drop in the index this month is the biggest fall on record: Mr Bush's own approval rating has dropped to 48 per cent; and the Republicans are going into the elections in 10 days as underdogs.

For what? The US national debt, which has tripled since Mr Reagan took office 10 years ago, will go on growing over the next five years: but whereas it would have reached \$1 trillion from its present \$3 trillion-odd, it will now perhaps grow to something over \$3.5 trillion instead — and those figures are heroically optimistic. Even as the budget was passed, Mr William Seidman was on Capitol Hill demanding a further \$22bn to keep the thrift industry clean-up in business. Had he got his money, nearly half of the projected "saving" would have vanished in the first month of the financial year.

At best, these are quantitative changes; but they are hardly qualitative. If public debt is an abyss, as it has proved in some Latin American countries, the US is heading towards the abyss a little slower; but the turmoil of the last three months suggests that it is harder than ever to stop the slide in earnest. If debt is

manageable but a bit of an encumbrance, as European history suggests, managing the US in future will be just a little less difficult; but that is all.

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By Anthony Harris
in Washington

changes which the charismatic Mr Reagan had demanded daily throughout his presidency. Mr Bush cannot seriously have believed that he would do much better.

So one is left with the puzzle: why did the White House suddenly panic about the deficit last summer? And if it did, why did it not demand a more effective attack on it?

The tentative answers suggest a lot about where good intentions are liable to lead.

The first is economic: the old conventional wisdom of the Street simply does not apply in today's global market, and the budget will make almost no difference to world credit demand, and so to interest rates. This misjudgment easily confirms the low esteem in which Mr Brady and Mr Greenspan are held among Wall Street professionals, and shows a weakness in the White House. Mr Bush has no serious source of outside economic advice.

The second is a lack of sensitivity in Mr Bush himself. He swallowed the camel of raising taxes but, as the public has come to suspect, this is because he never seriously meant the pledge in the first place. He strained, though, at the grain of a capital gains tax cut, which he had made into a token of right-wing manhood, for no good economic reason. The moderate Mr Bush is always at his safest and most obstinate when it is trying to look like a right-winger.

His capital gains obsession soured the budget negotiations, enabled the Democrats to paint the president as a friend of the rich, and as this cost became clear, led the president into dithering and tittering. His ill-judged joke, "Read my lips", when the TV cameras caught him jogging, has done huge damage to his prestige.

So the real lesson of the whole affair is not economic, or even party-political, but goes back to Oscar Wilde: the importance of being earnest.

Rethink on immigration curbs

ACCORDING to popular sentiment, there are too many immigrants in France, and no doubt the same goes for most other European countries. Yet for reasons of economics and security, France and its neighbours will all, in the medium term, have to think about a deliberate policy of controlled immigration.

This will be a very unpopular proposition. It makes no difference to say that France, like the US, has always been a country of immigration, or that the proportion of immigrants in France now is no greater than it was in the 1950s or at the end of the last century. It makes no difference to say that the large flows of primary immigration were stopped more than 15 years ago, and that present admissions are mainly family reunions.

The fact is that 65 per cent of Frenchmen think there are too many immigrants now, according to a recent poll, and even President François Mitterrand has imprudently conceded the existence of what he called a "threshold of tolerance". Mr Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the extreme right-wing National Front, maintains a buoyant score of about 15 per cent in the polls with his xenophobic rhetoric, and every so often the tension surrounding the immigrant community sets off a local explosion.

For all these reasons, elected politicians will be anxious not to suggest that France needs an immigration policy. But there are at least three factors which may force the idea onto the national agenda. The first

isamently on the edge of a crisis over the financing of its old-age pensions, and has so far been saved by the buoyancy of growth and social security contributions. The demographic curve will remove such provisional solutions.

Compared with its European neighbours, however, France's fertility is relatively buoyant. In Belgium and Austria the population will start to decline this year, and in Spain from the end of the decade. Way out in front is the former West Germany, whose population is expected to shrink by 20 per cent over the next 40 years, from 81m now to 47m in 2030. Italy's most recent fertility figure was even below that of Germany.

From the east and the south, meanwhile, there will be a large and rising demand for access to the prosperous countries of western Europe and the prospect of declining population. Sweden has recently been bucking the trend, with a fertility rate which rose sharply between 1983 and 1989, though still below the replacement level. But the general European trend is stable or downward.

The key words there are general and European. In the absence of a miracle, Europe will need an immigration policy. Not single European country can have such a policy on its own, because the internal and external pressures would just be too great. What will be needed is a co-ordinated and controlled European immigration policy. This is yet another reason why we need the European Community.

The decline in the workforce will drag down the prospects for economic growth. At the same time the working population will have to bear the growing cost of pensions and medical care for an increasing number of old people. As it is, France is already teetering per-

manentily on the edge of a crisis over the financing of its old-age pensions, and has so far been saved by the buoyancy of growth and social security contributions. The demographic curve will remove such provisional solutions.

Compared with its European neighbours, however, France's fertility is relatively buoyant. In Belgium and Austria the population will start to decline this year, and in Spain from the end of the decade. Way out in front is the former West Germany, whose population is expected to shrink by 20 per cent over the next 40 years, from 81m now to 47m in 2030. Italy's most recent fertility figure was even below that of Germany.

From the east and the south, meanwhile, there will be a large and rising demand for access to the prosperous countries of western Europe and the prospect of declining population. Sweden has recently been bucking the trend, with a fertility rate which rose sharply between 1983 and 1989, though still below the replacement level. But the general European trend is stable or downward.

The key words there are general and European. In the absence of a miracle, Europe will need an immigration policy. Not single European country can have such a policy on its own, because the internal and external pressures would just be too great. What will be needed is a co-ordinated and controlled European immigration policy. This is yet another reason why we need the European Community.

The decline in the workforce will drag down the prospects for economic growth. At the same time the working population will have to bear the growing cost of pensions and medical care for an increasing number of old people. As it is, France is already teetering per-

Real enigma of the US budget panic

impress the markets: a bold display of political sacrifice (that of the no-tax pledge) and bipartisan leadership, even if it did not actually solve the problem.

This is just what you might expect from a patrician White House, whose main contacts with American reality are through Wall Street, where the banking is centred, and Texas, which suffered bank failure and recession in the Reagan years. It is an old-fashioned Wall Street remedy for a Texas problem. But there were two grave faults with this prescription, which prove the old saying about where good intentions are liable to lead.

The first is economic: the old conventional wisdom of the Street simply does not apply in today's global market, and the budget will make almost no difference to world credit demand, and so to interest rates. This misjudgment easily confirms the low esteem in which Mr Brady and Mr Greenspan are held among Wall Street professionals, and shows a weakness in the White House. Mr Bush has no serious source of outside economic advice.

The second is a lack of sensitivity in Mr Bush himself. He swallowed the camel of raising taxes but, as the public has come to suspect, this is because he never seriously meant the pledge in the first place. He strained, though, at the grain of a capital gains tax cut, which he had made into a token of right-wing manhood, for no good economic reason. The moderate Mr Bush is always at his safest and most obstinate when it is trying to look like a right-winger.

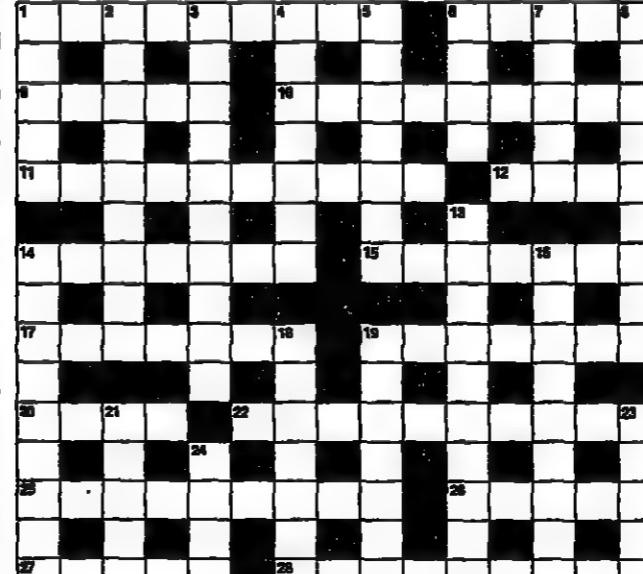
His capital gains obsession soured the budget negotiations, enabled the Democrats to paint the president as a friend of the rich, and as this cost became clear, led the president into dithering and tittering. His ill-judged joke, "Read my lips", when the TV cameras caught him jogging, has done huge damage to his prestige.

So the real lesson of the whole affair is not economic, or even party-political, but goes back to Oscar Wilde: the importance of being earnest.

JOTTER PAD

CROSSWORD

No. 7,379 Set by VIXEN



- ACROSS**
- Well-known, so there's no nonsense over credit-notes (5)
 - Much inclined to walk without point (5)
 - One just cannot see what's so entertaining (5)
 - Operating under pressure indicates impending changes (9)
 - It takes a lot perhaps to persuade a woman fully (10)
 - Transport for the young page to drive (4)
 - Did some work on a car — crimson outside, jade inside (7)
 - Earnest constituents will get as close as possible (7)
 - Some joints could well require such security devices (7)
 - A painter's underwear (7)
 - Decide against taking part — fancy! (4)
 - Managed to study, and afterwards went fishing (10)
 - A complaint involving colour (5)
 - Pay tribute out of fortune when retired (5)
 - Earthware figure left for repair (5)
 - Carries out about fifty parcels (5)
 - Upsets superior and goes (9)

- DOWN**
- The new man or woman (5)
 - A chart showing the current changes (4-5)
 - Offering growth potential, this is highly regarded in the city (4-5)
 - Went around bored, it may be (?)
 - Swelling number backing up a medical specialist (7)
 - For drainage all over a little cash is needed (4)
 - Some wines (terrible ones!) contain such a compound (5)
 - Circumference of a Middle Eastern spirit measure (5)
 - Masculine beast, not heartless but vindictive (10)
 - With drew, having discerned corruption (9)
 - Steps a person can take to make getting up effortless (9)
 - A heavenly sign — with a sting in the tail (?)
 - Denver plant without charge (3,4)
 - Artisan's equipment found in oriental jumble-sale (5)
 - Carries out about fifty parcels

Chancellor Kohl explains his country's changing role in Europe, Page 2

FINANCIAL TIMES SURVEY

GERMANY

Monday October 29 1990

Debate over monetary union is centred on the Bundesbank, Page 12

Germany has regained national unity after 12 months of unprecedented change. But the new state faces some severe tests; while helping to shape tomorrow's Europe, the German people must also learn to grow together as a nation. David Marsh investigates

United and yet disjointed

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair.

The revolution east of the Elbe was virtually bloodless. Having ceased to believe in their own future, the grandiose despots led by Mr Erich Honecker shuffled obediently off stage. Unity with the stable and prosperous West rapidly became the only alternative.

After a far longer period than most people predicted in the early 1980s, but much quicker than nearly anyone could have foreseen, only a year ago, the nation went apart in the aftermath of Hitler's war. The Germans, and their neighbours, are still getting over the shock.

Unification is a triumph for West Germany. The ending of the Cold War has brought unexpected success for Chancellor Helmut Kohl. His dogged march towards the Fatherland turned into a stampede once the Soviet Union, by refusing to intervene militarily in east Germany last autumn,

switched off East Berlin's life-support machine and left the patient to collapse. Everyone was taken by surprise, Mr Kohl included. He said two years ago in Moscow that he did not think he would live to see reunification.

Bonn government leaders did not foresee the extent of economic dislocation in the east caused by the introduction of the D-Mark on July 1. Neither did they anticipate the size of west German public sector flows needed to top up east German incomes, renew infrastructure, clean up the environment and alleviate social hardship.

Bonn officials believe that unemployment east of the Elbe could reach 3m next year before starting to descend. The counterpart has been an explosion of overall German public sector borrowing, totalling about DM100bn this year, DM120bn or more next year.

Trying to make up in vigour for what he lacks in plausibility, Mr Theo Waigel, finance minister, has said that unity can be financed without tax increases next year.

Lifting the veil from 45 years of post-war totalitarianism has freed the energy of 16m east Germans. In a few years' time they will almost certainly be living in one of Europe's fastest growing regions.

Yet the transition is forcing the inhabitants of the former

communist state to come to terms with an uncomfortable past, in which all too many participated in, or profited from, the oppression and the misrule.

In domestic politics, Mr Kohl has reaped impressive benefits. His Christian Democratic Union (CDU) is clear favourite to win the December 2 general election. In state elections two weeks ago, the CDU won in four of the five recreated east German Länder. At a time when east Germans are more

worried about being starved of capitalism than of being exploited by it, the Right profits from the belief that it is the party of money.

Mr Kohl has been in no mood to enjoy the fruits of victory. Mr Wolfgang Schäuble, interior minister, a close ally and confidant, and probably the most able man in the Bonn cabinet, was gravely injured by a deranged gunman on October 12. Germany is efficient in organising its gross national product, but not in protecting

its most valuable public figures.

On the foreign policy front, there are also disturbing tones. The speedy conclusion of the "2 plus 4" talks between the two German states and the four Second World War victors was an important diplomatic accomplishment.

But now that President Gorbachev has agreed that a united Germany can remain in Nato, Germany has to make up its mind with the rest of the alliance on what sort of Nato it

wishes to see in coming years.

The much-vaunted ending of the post-war era could bring down the post-war institutions. The obligations of collective security at the heart of Nato – and maybe the organisation itself – are unlikely to survive for too many years after reunification. Once the Soviet troops complete their pull-out from east Germany by end-1994, pressures will accelerate for the Nato forces in west Germany to leave.

Similar trials are in store over European political and economic integration. Mr Kohl's intentions, or not, said Mr Mitterrand a week ago in April when the two leaders agreed in a communiqué worked out in secret between the Chancellor's Office and the Elysée: "Our objective is that these fundamental reforms – economic and monetary union as well as political union – should come into force on January 1, 1993, after ratification by national parliaments."

Mr Kohl did not consult the Bundesbank about this highly ambitious monetary union commitment. Since then, the central bank has been mounting a muscular campaign to make sure that its scepticism is heard by all.

Thus the language of the latest Kohl-Mitterrand communiqué, after their meeting in Munich last month, was watered down. The two leaders declared only to aim for ratification of new treaties on political and monetary union by end-1992, but said nothing about when monetary union could enter into force.

Patching up misunderstandings with Paris is only one of Mr Kohl's challenges. He has to convince Moscow that a unified Germany really will be in the Soviet Union's best interest – and hope that Mr Gorbachev will be in power in a few years' time to reap the benefits.

By clinching unity, Mr Kohl has brought off an audacious feat, and perhaps prepared Germany and Europe for a new age of shared prosperity. However, over the next few years, he has to wade through a sea of problems. The Chancellor has to juggle east and west, costs and gains, short-term risk and long-term opportunity. His balancing act is not yet over.

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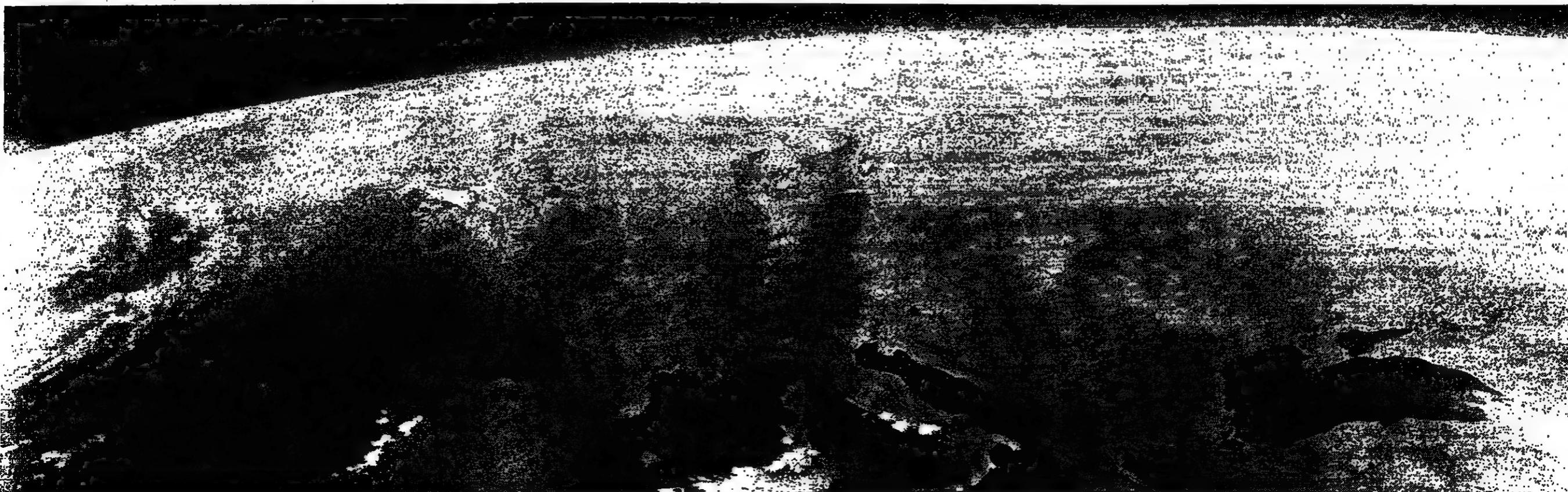
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BREMER VULKAN

GERMANY 2

Chancellor Helmut Kohl reviews the post-war architecture of Europe and Germany's role in the pursuit of European integration

DURING 1989 and 1990 we have all witnessed rapid political, economic and social change in central and eastern Europe. The post-war architecture of Europe seemed stable — but this change revealed how fragile it really was. A stable peace order cannot be built on the basis of the irreversible antagonism between democracy and dictatorship.

The question of the architecture of tomorrow's Europe now demands an answer. It is directed not least at the Germans, at the heart of what was until recently a divided continent. With the ending of division, the Germans have regained full sovereignty. However, in an age of increasing political and economic inter-dependence, national sovereignty is not an object of value in itself, but is a tool to be wielded responsibly. In a spirit of partnership. This implies, among other things, a willingness to share sovereignty by progressing towards European integration.

The Germans have achieved unity in full accord with their friends, partners and neighbours in East and West. And they are aware that the main factor permitting the people in the west of Germany, particularly in West Berlin, to live in peace and freedom for over 40 years was the solidarity of the Three Powers — the US, France and Britain. These two experiences underpin the Germans' positive attitude towards European integration and towards further developing the community of free western states.

The vast majority of people

Länder and the eastern part of Berlin acceded to the Federal Republic of Germany. The continuity of basic policies, which for four decades determined the path of the Federal Republic and ultimately created an environment making reunification possible — is thus assured; at home, commitment to democracy based on the rule of law and the social market economy, externally, further integration into the community of free western states.

German unity on October 3 did not bring the birth of a new state

plies set up this year. Banks, commercial enterprises and the service sector are building up extensive branch networks, creating thousands of jobs.

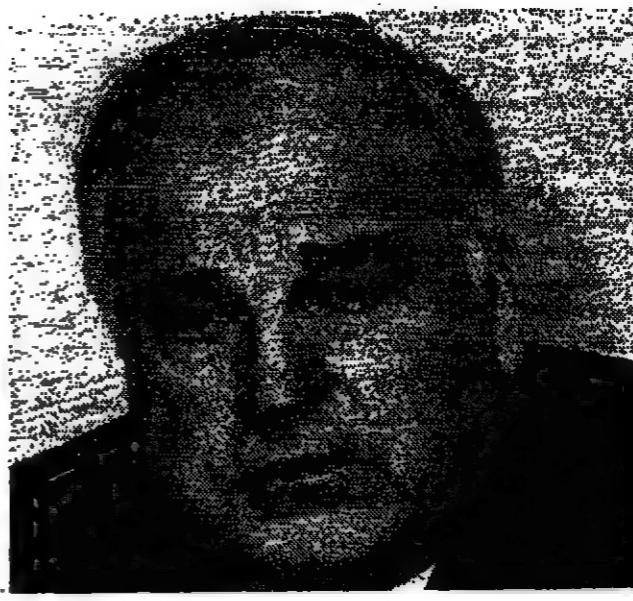
The vast majority of people fully realise what a dreadful state the economy of the former GDR was in, and the extent to which its infrastructure, building and environment were neglected for decades. But economic regeneration is under way. In spite of high interest rates, there is no sign of investment activity slowing down. This is true both of private investors and public capital spending. Roughly half of companies sampled in a recent survey by one of Germany's best-known economic research institutes said they intended to invest in east Germany by the end of 1991.

Experience so far of German monetary and economic union has shown that the people in the former GDR have used their D-Marks responsibly. They are taking advantage of the new savings and investment possibilities. Even with lower prices, a wider choice of better quality goods, and increased purchasing power for employees and pensioners, the "shopping spree" forecast by many did not materialise. This offers opportunities for all — not just German businesses.

It is not too early to say that the process of German unification has given European integration a significant lift. Reunification of our Fatherland gives us an incentive and

The Brandenburg Gate (above) in December 1989, after the wall had begun to crumble.

Chancellor Kohl (right): convinced that his country's unity, as symbolised by the flag of Germany outside the Reichstag (below), can help European integration



ity for the whole of Europe and towards its partners in the world.

Our aims in the process are as follows:

- We want to increase the powers of the European Parliament in time for the next European election in 1994. Our democratic principles will allow the transfer to the Community of further rights of national parliaments and governments only if, as a counter-weight, distinct parliamentary controls are guaranteed at a European level.

- We wish steadily to increase the efficiency of the Community's institutions. Our model is a "citizens' Europe". We reject all forms of bureaucratic centralisation. In tomorrow's Europe, nations and regions must be able to preserve and cultivate their own traditions. We therefore call for the creation of an advisory committee on which the individual regions are represented.

- We seek tangible progress on a common foreign and security policy. We require an effective range of instruments to advance our common interests.

- Only if these reforms reach a successful conclusion will the European Community be able to meet the challenges facing it internally and externally. Only then will it be able to shoulder its share of political and economic responsibility.

Monetary stability, healthy public finances and an independent future European central banking system are of crucial importance.

Only a European community strengthened internally can be a driving force in the pan-European process. Europe does not end at the Oder and Neisse rivers. The people in Poland,

There will be no cracks in the united Germany's foreign policy

Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the other countries of central and south-east Europe require a European perspective. The same applies to the Eifa countries, with which we enjoy close co-operation. We wish to create with them a European economic area, which could become a model for the whole of Europe to grow together.

It must not, however, simply be a matter of admitting as many countries as possible into the EC. Such a strong-arm act would not leave the Community unscathed. The fatal result would be that the EC would be reduced to the level of an elevated free trade zone. Precisely what was not — and is not — our aim in uniting

Europe. Hence those who want the political unification of Europe must restrict accession to the Community, for the foreseeable future, to those countries which are prepared and able to create the European Union without reservations.

This does not alter the Community's need to be more energetic in supporting the successful continuation of reforms in central and eastern Europe, and in raising co-operation with these countries, and with Eifa, on to a new plane. The envisaged co-operation and association agreement are essential tools towards this aim.

Our goal of uniting Europe requires an overall umbrella of structures for political and economic co-operation, and for security matters. The process of stability and co-operation in Europe, the CSCE, has been of inestimable value in overcoming the divisions in our continent. It also provides a forum to press for further progress in disarmament and arms control.

We attach particular importance to further expansion of the CSCE, not least in view of the Atlantic partnership between the US and Europe. In coming years it will be imperative not simply to maintain relations between US and a coalescing Europe, but indeed to intensify them. This can be accomplished through further development of the Atlantic whose *raison d'être* certainly does not rest on perpetuating conflicting images — and through more co-operation both at the EC and CSCE level.

One of our greatest challenges is to involve the Soviet Union ever more closely in the task of shaping Europe's future, politically, economically, culturally and in security questions. Decades of East-West conflict have caused many to forget that the peoples in the Soviet Union are linked with Europe not just geographically, but through their history and culture. At last, these links can now be turned to political benefit.

One thing is certain: there will be no cracks in the united Germany's foreign policy. This is, and will remain, a policy of peace. Its axioms are understanding and reconciliation. Our standards and priorities will remain unchanged, because they have proved their worth. They will remain the compass guiding us towards a good future.

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GERMANY 3

A SAFE place to hide a striking quotation, one might think, would be in volume two of the *Life of Disraeli* by Montagu and Buckle. But Disraeli's words leap off page 473.

"Let me impress upon the attention of the House the character of this war between France and Germany. It is no common war. Like the war between Prussia and Austria, or like the Italian war in which France has engaged some years ago; or it is like the Crimean War. This was a war between a German revolution, a greater political power, and then the French revolution of last century... Not a single principle in the management of our foreign affairs, accepted by all statesmen for guidance up to six months ago, any longer exists... The balance of power has been entirely destroyed, and the country which suffers most, and feels the effect of this great change most is England."

As leader of the Opposition, Disraeli was speaking in the Debate on the Address on February 9, 1871. The House had dispersed the previous August as the Franco-Prussian War got under way, and it reassembled six months later, a normal interval in those days, to find it nearly over. Disraeli was lamenting not the victory of Germany or the defeat of France - his speech shows no great sympathy for either

side - but the destruction of the balance of power, the central principle of British foreign policy and the unravelling of the nexus of treaties on which Britain had been relying. *Fast-forward now to The Spectator* of July 14, 1990, and here Mr Nicholas Ridley: "We've always played the balance of power in Europe. It has always been Britain's role to keep these various powers balanced, and never has it been more necessary than now, with Germany so uppity."

Who would have thought that the squires of Hughenden and Cirencester had so much in common? But in truth it is the European situation which is repeating itself, not just the Conservative Party. The war now ending in Europe is the Cold War. It had lasted not six months, but close on 45 years. The chief winner is Germany. And the balance of power, for those who still think in such categories, has changed.

What is important is not simply the fact of German unification, but the conditions in which and on

which it has been achieved. The actual merging of east into west Germany will be a slow, laborious, untidy and expensive business, as anyone may see who picks their way through the "Treaty on the Establishment of the Unity of Germany" signed on August 31, with its majestic annexes and supplementary statements. The slow-worm economic differential will take many years to fade, and may never disappear altogether. Germany's frontier has advanced some 180 miles further east, but its centre of gravity has moved only from round about Marburg to somewhere near Weimar, and there is talk of the seat of government perhaps staying in Bonn after all, instead of moving back to Berlin.

The question is not what capital the country will have, but what character. Will the new Germany be more than the old Federal Republic expanded by 43 per cent? If so, in what way will it be different? When this question was put to Mr Lothar de Maiziere, the first and last freely-

elected prime minister of east Germany his reply was that it would be "more Protestant, and more eastern." The first of these qualities is the Germans' own business. The role of the Church in the decline and fall of the GDR was remarkable, but it would seem it was not specific to that particular period.

But "more eastern"? Here we enter the ground covered by those two other recent treaties, the Two-Plus-Four agreement of September 12 and the German-Soviet Treaty initialled by the two foreign ministers a day later. Taken together, these two documents must inevitably involve a shift of position and a change of course on the part of Britain's most important partner and ally in Europe.

Those obsessed with the word "sovereignty" will find that the Two-Plus-Four Treaty restores it in full to Germany, but the small print spells out the special regime to be applied to what was the territory of east Germany. Soviet troops to be withdrawn, but only by the end of

1994, and after that no non-German forces to be stationed there, and no nuclear weapons.

So it is unification on conditions, and two of these are terms which a year or two ago would have beenathemes in Bonn namely nuclear-free zone in central Europe and the "singularisation" of part of German territory. What makes these things palatable today can only be the general context, and the fact that they were freely accepted by the government concerned - as freely as Austrian neutrality was accepted by Austria in 1955.

In those days we used to speculate about something called "the German card", meaning an offer by Moscow to concede German unification in return for German neutrality. Well, the card was played in the end: the Soviet opening position in the Two-Plus-Four talks was that German membership of Nato would never be acceptable to the Soviet people. But by that time Moscow's partner was on its last legs. So the card proved to be only half a card,

and it took only half the trick.

The most vaguely formulated of

those three treaties, and thus potentially the furthest-reaching, is the bilateral one awaiting ratification in Moscow and Bonn.

This commits the two countries

to collaboration in everything from arms control to language rights, not forgetting German help for the Soviet economy. In the event of aggression against one party, the other will not help the aggressor, which amounts to a kind of Non-Aggression Plus. But the stated joint political goal is to convert the CSCE (the Helsinki process) from an occasional gathering into a body with permanent institutions. The German vocation, said Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister, is to lead together the peoples of Europe.

If this then is the German perspective, where does it leave Germany's western partners?

France still has the Franco-German special relationship, now in its 28th year, and the recent meeting in

Strasbourg was UK Ambassador to West Germany, 1984-85

The writer was UK Ambassador to West Germany, 1984-85

PRESIDENT Richard von Weizsäcker, who on October 3 became the head of state of all Germany, enjoys prominence and popularity without real political power. As the nation gears up for the task of unification, the president is serving notice that he will be playing an active role in trying to make it a success.

The president is supposed to be above the rough-and-tumble of daily politics. With the approach of the general election on December 2, he will keep out of the direct spotlight. But, from below stage, his voice will still be heard. The message from the president who has become the conscience of the nation is above all that, at this of all times, he will not quit.

The president's well-practised patrician bearing does not stop him from descending into mischief from time to time. Although he and Chancellor Kohl are both from the Christian Democrats, Mr von Weizsäcker seems to take occasional pleasure from aiming political darts into Mr Kohl's thick hide. Part of Mr von Weizsäcker's theme was spelled out in his masterly Unity Day address in Berlin. The president succeeded, with words of uncomplicated elegance, in charting a course joining up the hopes of the day with the challenges ahead.

A good deal of Mr von Weizsäcker's prowess at the podium reflects timing and delivery. He finished with a line from Schiller's *Ode to Joy*. ("To give the German Democratic Republic a half-dignified exit, the political estab-

lishment had attended a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in the East Berlin Schauspielhaus in the previous evening.)

Unity was a "divine spark", said Mr von Weizsäcker devastatingly, and that was the end of the speech. Next day, in the Reichstag, Mr Kohl opened the first session of the united Bundestag by stumbling over a set-piece address put together on the word-processor with doggedness but no great imagination by his speech-writer.

Mr Willy Brandt, replying for the Social Democrats, said that that the president's address had been more convincing. Mr von Weizsäcker, sitting in the visitors' gallery, arched up his eyebrows in theatrical surprise - but must have been pleased all the same. To his audience at home and abroad, Mr von Weizsäcker is trying to ram home several central points:

- He believes that overcoming the psychological gap - as well as the economic gulf - between east and west Germans will be a key task for a long time. As he put it in his Berlin speech, "we cannot deny how much divides us still". The president is wedded to the idea of Germany becoming a "bridge" between the nations of

Europe. But, as his visits to east Germany have bound to underline in coming months, he also sees his role as helping to bridge the differences in mentalities, experiences and expectations in the two halves of the nation.

- Using words which (unknown to him) were very similar to those written by ex-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in a newspaper article published the next day, Mr von Weizsäcker said in his Berlin speech: "Unity will not simply be financed with high-yielding bonds." Eye-witnesses say that Mr Kohl, sitting in the front row, winced slightly. This was a coded way of taking the government to task for not having done enough to restructure budgetary spending to divert funds to east Germany. Mr von Weizsäcker's remark was also a hint - though no more - that the president may back the Opposition line in favour of tax increases to fund unity next year.

The opportunity for big cuts in subsidies does not appear very great. It is significant that the president - a former mayor of west Berlin - does not think much of plans to cut central governing funding for the city now that east and west Berlin are struggling to grow together.

● The president believes Germany has to keep up the momentum in both widening and deepening the European Community - a tall order. He wants the government to press on quickly along the road to monetary union, even though this is opposed by a strong coalition including Mr Karl Otto Pöhl, the Bundesbank president, Mr Theo Waigel, the finance minister, and Mr Otto Lammendorff, leader of the Free Democrats. Mr Pöhl has already been overridden on German monetary union; the president is not the only one wondering if it will happen again.

Mr von Weizsäcker feels that a way will have to be found to steer between the Scylla of Germany's reluctance to give up the stability of the D-Mark-anchored system, and the Charybdis of other countries' unwillingness to accept a monetary system dominated by the Germans. He doubts whether Britain's full membership of the European Monetary System proves that Mrs Margaret Thatcher has become European-minded. Because it will give London the opportunity to block Ecu, it could be just the opposite.

● In Mr von Weizsäcker's most celebrated speech to date, in May 1986, marking the 40th anniversary of Ger-

many's capitulation, he said: "Anyone who closes his eyes to the past is blind to the present. Whoever refuses to remember the inhumanity is prone to risks of new infection."

However, the president is now beating out a different tune. Suspicions abroad - above all in England (and here he means particularly 10 Downing Street) - that German unification disrupts the "balance of power" in Europe are based on an over-preoccupation with the past. At this juncture, Mr von Weizsäcker likes to point out that if Lord Castlereagh, Britain's foreign secretary at the Vienna Congress in 1815, had not insisted on giving the Rhineland (including the industrial potential of the Ruhr) to Prussia instead of Saxony, as the Prussians had wanted, then a lot of later problems could have been avoided.

As it is, after four postwar decades, German thought and German government are now firmly "westernised". Mr von Weizsäcker believes. There is no danger of a "third way" or an eastwards drift. That is why, he said in Berlin, Germany's borders must no longer be dividing lines, but "bridges": east and west but mostly, one cannot help thinking, east.

President von Weizsäcker: unity a "divine spark" *Ashley Ashwo*

David Marsh profiles the man who has become the conscience of the nation

The bridge-building president

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GERMANY 4

François Heisbourg analyses how the politicians in Paris have approached Franco-German relations since mid-1989

Lost opportunities and new challenges

THE evolution of French-German relations since mid-1989 is a case study of how better-than-average analysis can be followed by less-than-optimal policy. In essence, Paris lost five months in its relationship with a uniting Germany, in a revolutionary period when every month was worth a year of "normal times".

It remains to be seen whether France can make up for the opportunities lost between November 1989 and March 1990, and whether she will be in a position to successfully meet the challenges flowing from the existence of a united Germany.

During the weeks preceding the breaching of the Berlin Wall the analysis generated in Paris on the German question was of quite good quality, and this was reflected in President Mitterrand's press conference of November 3, when he stated that "I do not fear reunification... I think it is legitimate for the Germans to desire reunification if they want it".

The understanding of the nature of events compared favourably with what was occurring at the same time in London and Moscow. However, as in another case - that of France's early and accurate understanding of the threat to the Shah's regime in Iran in 1978-79 - an appropriate analysis was followed by a debatable policy.

At the end of November, France over-reacted to Chancellor Kohl's 10-point speech in the Bundestag. Admittedly, the Chancellor's lack of consultation was regrettable, but France was far from singled out as a victim, as other countries - and indeed West German politicians - can attest.

This was followed by the impromptu Mitterrand-Gorbachev encounter in Kiev in December, suggestive of a precautionary search for a new *"alliance de revers"* which a Soviet Union beset with its own problems was probably not in a position to enter into. A few weeks later Paris was seen as providing a measure of international legitimacy to a moribund East German regime, with the French President's visit to East Germany.

This phase also witnessed France's ardent defence of Poland's position on the border issue. The policy on the issue of Poland's borders was certainly legitimate, but expressed in such a manner that France ran the risk of appearing to be more Polish than the Poles. Finally, the high-profile visit to Paris by Mr Oskar Lafontaine, the SPD leader, shortly before the

March 19 general election in East Germany was not designed to please the Government in Bonn. The French were suspected of assuming that the SPD would gain a majority, as most opinion polls were then suggesting.

In chronological terms, this initially reactive phase was quickly followed, after the victory of the Christian Democrats in East Germany, by a swift and welcome shift to a more positive and active policy, exemplified by April's joint statement on European political union of the French president and the West German chancellor.

Although there are still occasional hints of previous policies in French attitudes - for example in June 1990 when Paris yet again bore cudgels for Warsaw - France has not confined herself to simply acknowledging the *"fait accompli"*, but has sought to translate this new attitude in constructive Community-building terms. Here the parallels between French and British policies towards Germany end, and the contrasts begin. France has in *"politique communautaire"* which provides her with a measure of tangible insurance against the risk of becoming

a marginalised and grudging witness to the inevitable.

In spite of its policy of adjustment from March 1990, France may find it difficult to re-establish with Germany the special relationship which existed before November 9, 1989. It is premature to consider that the relationship belongs to the past, as former President Giscard d'Estaing did in an interview in July.

However, France's security and defence relationship with West Germany has become one of the principal elements of the "couple" during the 1980s. Now that the Cold War is essentially over, the weight of defence issues in central Europe is bound to decrease, thus eroding the one of France's stronger points.

Furthermore, what was tolerable to Germany at a time of large Soviet pressure will become increasingly irritating. The decision in Spring 1990 to produce the Hades short-range nuclear ballistic system for deployment in 1992 will increasingly be viewed in Germany at best as an unpleasant irrelevance, at worst, as an unacceptable sign of mistrust, since it will only be able to reach targets in united Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Similarly, Paris' persistent refusal to proceed with consultations on nuclear issues reduces the credibility of statements that France's strategic weapons forces are at the service of Europe. France will have to decide whether she will Europeanise her forces and doctrine, within a West European and/or European-American framework, or whether she will hang on to the field of defence.

France's security and defence relationship with West Germany has become one of the principal elements of the "couple" during the 1980s. Now that the Cold War is essentially over, the weight of defence issues in central Europe is bound to decrease, thus eroding the one of France's stronger points.

As times passes, the political and economic value of French overtures in the field of defence and security will tend to diminish. This erosion could be speeded up by a mishandling of French force withdrawals from Germany, an issue which was dealt with in a rather confusing manner during the summer.

It would be in Paris' interest to gain political mileage in the Franco-German relationship by shifting gears in the field of defence sooner rather than later and to do so in an explicit and ambitious manner.

In the new game, France has nonetheless a good hand to play, particularly if defence and security assets are put on the table in a timely fashion.

France has a strong set of policies toward the economic, monetary and political unification of Europe which she can build on. Furthering these goals requires political will and imagination, but no soul-wrenching departure from recent trends, except in the field of defence.

Possibly more surprisingly, France is well poised to play the

economic card. Low inflation, a manageable trade deficit, high capital investment, healthy companies, and a long-standing energy policy, give France a reasonable chance to benefit from the window of opportunity opened by the German unification process. A united Germany with the equivalent of an ex-communist Mexzogjorno to integrate will not be an instant economic superpower.

Other countries, less distracted by the economic costs and social pain associated with unification, can consolidate their position, thus making for a European Community which should not be intolerably imbalanced by the simple addition of 16m people, some 5 per cent of its inhabitants, to its population. In other words a Community in which France has every chance of remaining *"incontournable"* as engine.

This will only happen if France does not repeat the performance of the late November 1989 to late March 1990 period.

This will hopefully pass into history as a reversible and understandable moment of hesitation in the aftermath of a strategic earthquake - and not as an event which will set a new trend.

The author is Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies

that Germany and the Soviet Union will refrain from any threat or use of force which is directed against the territorial integrity or political independence of the other side."

The article adds that, if either side should come under attack, "the other side will not afford any military support or any other assistance to the aggressor."

Some French officials are worried that this article would prevent Germany from joining Nato action against Moscow if the Soviet Union should attack another member of the alliance.

Mr Kastrup says however that this part of the German-Soviet treaty is completely compatible with Nato's present undertakings as a defensive alliance and with the wording of the Nato London communiqué.

If there had been any doubt about the compatibility of the words in the treaty, that would not have been done it, Mr Kastrup says firmly. However much diplomats like Mr Kastrup try to scotch the anxiety the French worries seem unlikely to go completely away.



Ashley Ashwood

Dieter Kastrup: important man in negotiations

David Marsh interviews Dieter Kastrup of the foreign ministry

Genscher's right hand

THE tall, lean figure of Mr Dieter Kastrup, political director of the Bonn foreign ministry, has been an indispensable actor in the wearisome but ultimately successful saga of winning agreement on German unity from the four Second World War victors.

Since the "2 plus 4" talks between the former two German states and the US, Soviet Union, Britain and France were conceived in Ottawa in February, Mr Kastrup has travelled around 60,000 miles to help bring the negotiations to a conclusion.

Mr Kastrup, 53, for years one of the closest advisers on East-West matters to Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the foreign minister, has held his present job since November 1988 when his predecessor, Mr Hermann von Richter, moved to London to become Germany's ambassador to the UK.

Mr Kastrup is the leading candidate to take over as the foreign minister if top state secretary Mr Jürgen Spahn, the current incumbent, goes as expected to Paris as ambassador at the beginning of next year.

Mr Kastrup has a modest

exterior, but there is steel inside. During the high points of the dramatic diplomacy of the last 12 months, he has seldom strayed far from Mr Genscher's side. Looking back, Mr Kastrup says: "It has been a unique chance. In my life-time I will not experience something like this again."

Mr Kastrup was with Mr Genscher at the West German embassy in Prague in September 1989 when agreement was reached on allowing east Germans to camp out in the grounds to travel freely to the west - a decision which marked the beginning of the countdown to unity. He played a leading role in the negotiations with the Soviet Union on writing Moscow's agreement for a united Germany, staying in Nato. And he was naturally among the carousers at the Reichstag in Berlin who celebrated German unity well into

the early hours of October 3. With last year's flow of east German refugees into Hungary and then Czechoslovakia, "We had the feeling that something was starting to move, something qualitatively different," says Mr Kastrup. But he admits to being taken by surprise - like everyone else - by the speed of events. "If someone in Prague had predicted that on October 3 1990 we would be standing on the steps of the Reichstag in a united Germany, then I would have said he was a dreamer."

Mr Kastrup pays tribute to the "solidarity" shown by the Soviet Union on the question of Nato membership, Germany and the world may have been possible. Together with the rest of the alliance - Mr Kastrup points to this summer's nato communiqué in London as a milestone - Germany has had to convince

Moscow that Nato is not the "horror picture" which Soviet propaganda has always painted it. Mr Kastrup says Nato is now "extending the hands of friendship" to Moscow.

The German-Soviet treaty on "good neighbourly relations and co-operation" which will be signed when President Gorbachev visits Bonn next month will be of supreme importance.

Mr Kastrup denies that the mutual non-aggression pledge contained in the treaty conveys Germany's obligations to Nato. He shows mild vexation at reports in the French press this month - thought to come from the Kremlin - that the Paris government is concerned about this article. Mr Kastrup goes to great lengths to fetch a copy of the treaty from a safe in the corner of his office and reads out the relevant passage, from Article 3 which states



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Frans de Ruiter contemplates the interior of the Utrecht Power Station.
(Sculpture by Dutch artist P.H. d'Hont. Turbine housing design by K.D. Sie.)



Frans de Ruiter's turbine is a work of art.

Frans de Ruiter is Managing Director of UNA, the Dutch electrical power utility supplying the Noord Holland, Utrecht, Amsterdam area.

He has a tough assignment. UNA serves one of the most densely populated regions of the most densely populated country in the world. To help it do so, UNA has completed the installation of the two largest, most efficient gas turbines operational in the world today. Each generates 140 megawatts of electricity at efficiency levels well in excess of any comparable facility.

"We have made full use of ABB's most advanced technology to meet demanding targets," says Mr. de Ruiter. "At the same time, we have been able to satisfy Holland's strict environmental controls."

Not only are UNA's plants exceptionally "clean" — UNA has just won a prestigious international award for its environmental achievements — but the company's efforts to landscape the surroundings of its power plants have also won praise with local communities. At the Utrecht power station, Mr. de Ruiter's environmental efforts have gone one step further. He has turned the interior of the plant into a giant gallery, and one of his new turbines itself into a work of art. "Why not?" he asks. "Our employees deserve a stimulating work environment. And we are proud of having the world's most modern."

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GERMANY 6

Thomas Kielinger offers a personal view of unity

Patchwork state must come to terms with the past

PRESENT-DAY Germany consists of 16 states with distinct local identities. This fragmented patchwork is coalescing into a cumbersome, hesitant giant, covered with the scars of the 20th century.

Its peoples have displayed both courage and subservience, perseverance in adversity as well as blind submission. While the western part staged a dramatic recovery after World War Two, the eastern half is only now emerging from 57 years of totalitarian darkness.

Two generations in the east have seen their fulfilment brutally taken away from them. Others earned their living by conniving with officialdom against fellow citizens.

Amid the widespread rejoicing at the demise of communism, one must ask whether any society can fully recover from such corruption and denial of freedom.

The revolution of 1989 testified to the moral strength of a populace whose ability to think for itself had all but disappeared. But in the new dawn came the depressing revelation of the extent of popular collaboration with the secret police.

How will this shame be removed? And must the west Germans, who came to terms with the Hitler past, now help to clean up the east's legacy of the Stasi and its security apparatus?

In fact, they have no alternative. The east German judiciary is ill-equipped to dispose of this legal and moral morass. The problem also knocks insistently at the western door. Hardly a day passes without another former east German spy having his cover blown by informers, often double agents trying to save their own skins.

Like some natural disaster, German unity is caving in so rapidly on these moles that often they have no time to withdraw to the hospitable bosom of the KGB.

In previous years, any of these cases would have provoked outrage and wrecked political careers. Now they just cause an irritated shrug of indifference. Perhaps west Germans hope that the aftermath of the GDR can be dealt with within the east's former boundaries?

West Germans have developed the apathy and middle-aged spread of an affluent society. It explains the lax security on Unity Day, October 3, when a deranged person managed to grab the microphone at the concert of the Berlin Philharmonic and harangue the top brass of the two Germanys on their wedding day. He could easily have pulled a Smith & Wesson and assassinated many a dignitary.

Nine days later, the unspeakable happened when a man of a similar mental disposition, in a southern German bar that avenged no traces of a security precaution, walked up to the speaker of the evening and shot him twice at close range. It was no accident that the speaker had been none other than the chief negotiator of the

The German Federal States		
	Area (sq km)	Population (m)
Baden-Württemberg	37,751	9.46
Bavaria	70,053	11.07
Berlin	883	3.34
Brandenburg	29,058	2.81
Bremen	404	0.66
Hamburg	785	1.61
Hesse	21,114	5.58
North Rhine-Westphalia	34,068	10.5
Lower Saxony	47,439	7.19
Microland	23,855	1.95
Rhineland-Palatinate	19,549	3.56
Saxony	2,569	1.05
Saxony-Anhalt	18,337	4.54
Schleswig-Holstein	20,445	2.92
Thuringia	15,728	2.57
	16,251	2.85

Germany's Largest Cities (population m)	
Berlin	3.3
Hamburg	1.8
Munich	1.2
Cologne	0.94
Frankfurt	0.63
Essen	0.62
Dortmund	0.58
Düsseldorf	0.57
Stuttgart	0.55
Leipzig	0.54
Bremen	0.53
Duisburg	0.53
Dresden	0.52
Hanover	0.50
Nuremberg	0.48
Bochum	0.39
Wuppertal	0.37
Bielefeld	0.31
Chemnitz	0.31
Mannheim	0.30

two German unity treaties. Dr Wolfgang Schäuble, a member of Chancellor Kohl's cabinet and the heir-apparent to succeed Kohl.

Security? What security? Germany has cultivated the low-profile image to such an extent as to dull its very appreciation of the few top politicians it still has.

The combination of a cosy life-style acquired over the years juxtaposed with the awareness of the harrowing extent of east Germany's decline will, however, jolt rich, comfortable west Germans into their most painful process of self-appraisal and quiet reassessment of the historical role of their united-to-be country.

The process is under way. Suddenly many people are discovering with a vengeance what is at stake when two distinctly disparate societies collide, as it were, under one national roof, thrown together as they are for better or worse, in sickness and in health, for richer or poorer, till success doth unite them into one family again. Or not.

That is the question. It is anyone's guess how long it will take to stitch together the two unlikely halves – politically, psychologically, economically, humanely. Perhaps the economic part of unification will be the easiest to accomplish, if the most arduous, in the immediate future.

Now all those old vulnerabilities of divided Germany are in a sense, Germany pro-

vides the international community with the most spectacular case of a modern experiment in social engineering. A nation she is not, certainly not at this stage. And whether she is ever likely to become one, in the sense of the British or French national ego, remains to be seen. Would it be a good thing if she did?

Some Germans question such epithets of the modern experience. Why, had not the country chastised itself of all national pretences? And has she not thrived uniquely under the tutelage of total decentralisation and federalization?

Surely, in Europe, Germany has found her fulfilment as she never had found it in herself.

Too bad, therefore, that with German reunification, the people are being asked to return to the class room and repeat a lesson all but forgotten – how to build a national identity and the nation state, too.

To many this appears to be a lesson they could have done without. Europe, so they assume, is just about to overturn these old curricula, placing less emphasis on national sovereignty, and paying more attention to the merging of individual executive functions into the common European formula.

If that is the wave of the future, as the mumbblings on the German grapevine are saying, why are we going into this national detour in the first place?

Therein lies the irony. Germany is being visited upon by a *déjà vu* as she had not expected which is at stake when two distinctively disparate societies collide, as it were, under one national roof, thrown together as they are for better or worse, in sickness and in health, for richer or poorer, till success doth unite them into one family again. Or not.

How she handles the issue of the larger nation will not only determine the future growth experience of her national psychology, but also her actions on the world stage at large.

The old west Germany had lived within what can only be described as the most carefully excruciating terms of political reference ever designed for a leading country.

Polled on the razor's edge of the old East-West conflict she was benignly spared some of the leadership burdens other western nations had to carry regardless of economic or imperial overstretch.

Now all those old vulnerabilities of divided Germany are in a sense, Germany pro-

bygones and with them the extant circumstances she used to draw upon when questions of being seen to lead arose.

Watch out, therefore, for the new Germany continuing for a while its low-profile prancing since that is what she knows best and what she used to hide behind when moments of decision-making beckoned uncomfortably.

Do not be too impressed, either, by seeing the German national ego so refreshingly deprecated and debunked by Germans themselves, for you may simply be witnessing an old ritual dance designed to keep demands from the German political doorstep. Give the Germans time to put the east-west Humpty-Dumpty together again; it takes more than a few months for the most mind-boggling test in social engineering – the unification of two "impossibles" – to be passed satisfactorily.

And please, give the new Germany the benefit of the doubt as to the strength of her institutions. They were modelled after some of the oldest democratic traditions of the west, being brought to the western part of the country by the Anglo-Saxon victorious powers.

After forty or so years of a maturing period one may safely say that in west Germany, at least, they have taken sufficiently strong root to provide the other Germany with all the stability she needs as she rebuilds from the wreckage of her past.

A word of understanding could help, too, as the country is trying to balance its new financial burdens – no chicken feed they, by any stretch of the imagination – with the European agenda subscribed to before the Berlin Wall fell.

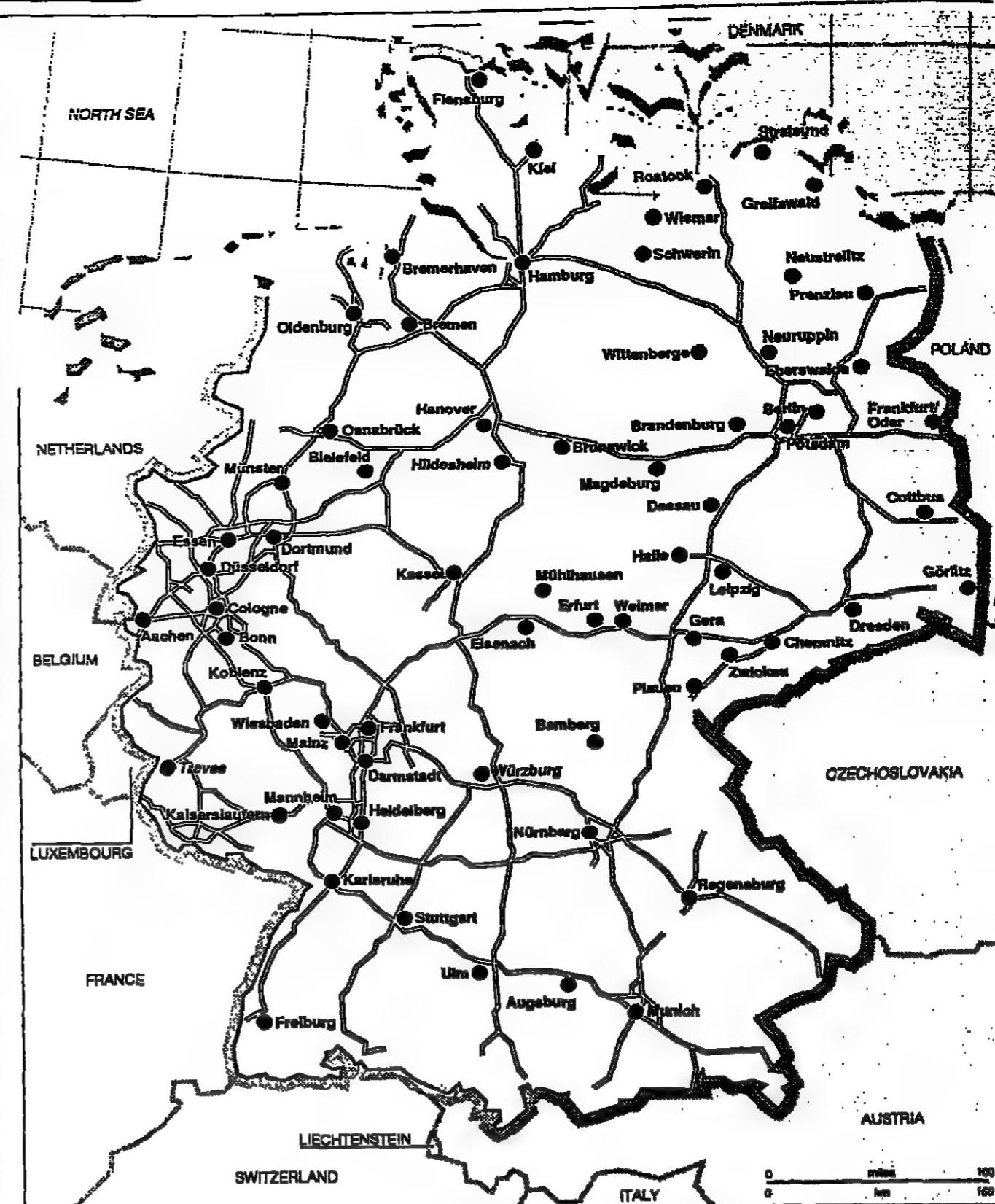
Should Chancellor Kohl's government decide to go a little easier on, say, the timetable for European monetary union than the original Delors plan had envisaged – well, that may just happen (and might even be greeted with gleeful relief in Whitehall), but it should not be misconstrued as a newly-emerging "German unilateralism" or a tendency to "go it alone".

Actually, nothing would damage the German national interest more than cavalier disregard for the concerns of fellow players on the European stage.

That, in turn, does not exclude the possibility of Germany being quite obstinate in pursuit of her monetary principles en route to the creation of a common European fiscal and banking policy, however.

But that is not a new development emanating from unification. It bespeaks a national consensus only reinforced by the burdens of unity.

It is in the area of political psychology where the biggest obstacles have to be overcome between the two Germanys. Admittedly, there is no quick fix for the warped mind-set one may still encounter in many



niches of life in the erstwhile east Germany.

The traces of socialist brainwashing cannot be wiped out overnight – especially not in education and the degrading habit of having one's life taken care of by self-appointed superiors and ideological malcontents.

Nor will the process of normalisation be without its repercussions in the western part of Germany. People will need to share and participate in the painstaking rekindling of a democratic society among their eastern relatives, while safeguarding some of their own time-hallowed political beliefs against any corrosive influence from the other, more flexible Germany.

No one can tell when that deep chasm of estrangement between two societies which drifted apart over decades of separation will be bridged. If certain indicators are to be believed, business entrepreneurs on all levels of activities, small and large, will provide the necessary impetus for

improvement (leaving only scant Deutschmarks for east European projects). With them will come a new wave of Germans curious about each other and about the country they have been given back with so little international ado.

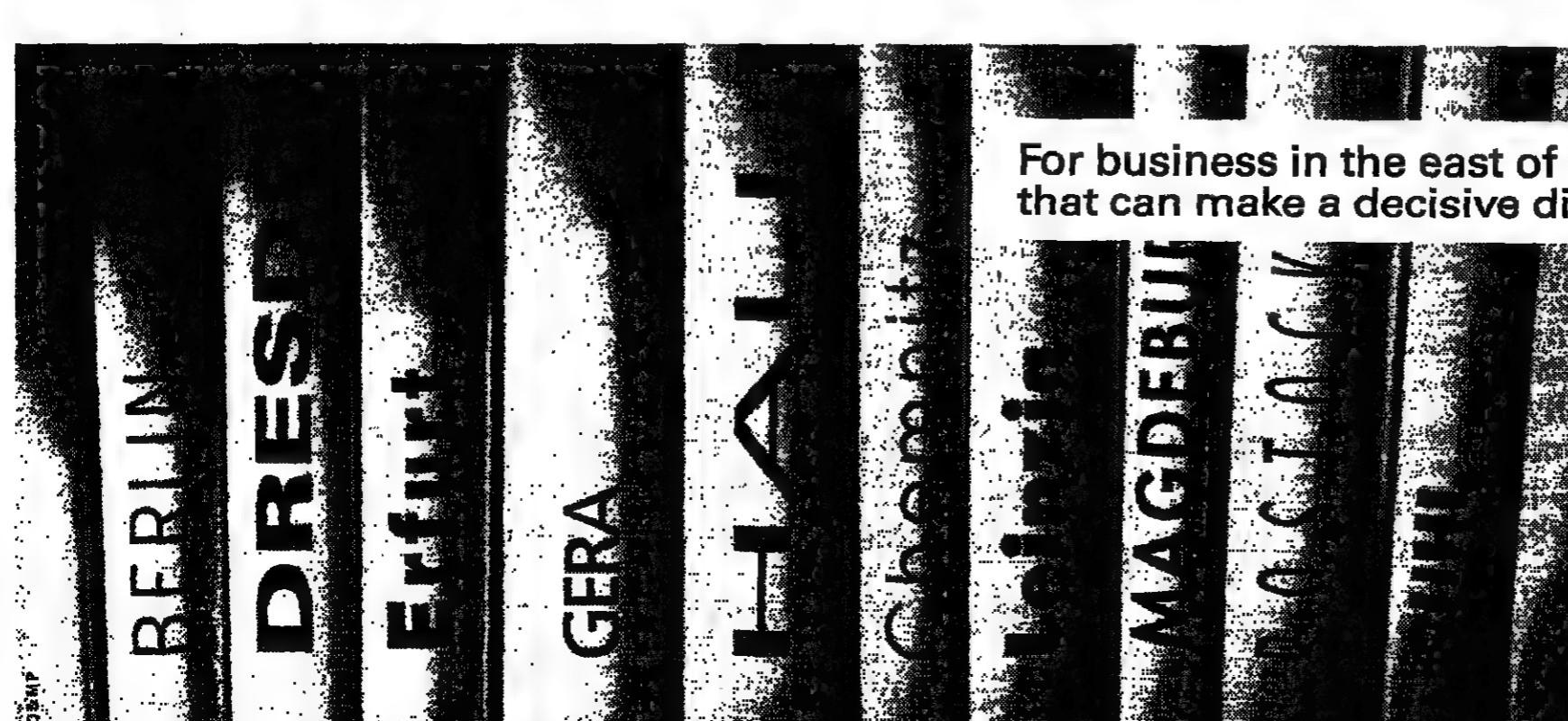
Sometimes it is the gifts we didn't ask for, the presents that slowly grow on us that eventually give us the greatest pleasure.

By the same token, united Germany could do worse than find herself the grudgingly accepted new kid on the block – like an acquaintance renewed and an acquaintance made afresh. Credibility may be no problem if its European instincts belie its ominous new size and power potential. At any rate, it will take more than Germans themselves to nurture it into the confident team-player we all hope it will be.

The author is Editor of the Bonn-based weekly, *Rheinischer Merkur*

KEY FACTS	
Area	138,000 sq miles
Population	75m
Head of State	Richard von Weizsäcker
Head of government	Helmut Kohl
Currency	100 Pfennige = 1 Deutsche Mark
Average Exch Rate in 1989	1.88 DM/US\$
Capital	Berlin
Seat of government	Bonn
Upper House	Bundestag
Lower House	Bundestag
Number of Länder	16
GNP (1989 estimate) comprising	DM2,700bn
Exports	DM2,460bn (West)
Imports	DM2,080bn (East)
Foreign trade balance	+\$345bn
Current account balance	+\$322bn
Share of EC population	+560m
Share of EC GNP	23%
PROJECTIONS	1990 1991
GNP growth (West)	8.9%
GNP growth (East)	-10% -7-10%

Source: OECD, Deutsche Bank, Bonn govt.



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Jewell's List

GERMANY 7

David Goodhart looks at prospects for the trade unions

Fearful of power reductions

THE new Germany, in one important sense, will be an enlarged west Germany. The process of enlargement however, will change west Germany. The political and geographical make-up of the new country will represent an amalgam of the two parts.

The new Germany will certainly become less homogeneous than either of its two parts. The former east Germans failed to win the hearts of its people, but it succeeded in imposing a highly rigid structure from Rostock in the north to Dresden in the south.

West Germany has been remarkably homogeneous, politically, economically and socially. The south is slightly richer and politically more conservative than the north but in spite, or arguably because of, strong federalism and the quasi-national traditions of Bavarians and Prussians, the regional differences are negligible.

The new Germany will, at least initially, be economically lop-sided with one large industrial region in the east. Politically, the centre will continue to dominate but the absorption of east Germany is likely to create new political forces on the far left and far right.

Federalism will also enjoy renewed vigour, partly thanks to the creation of five new Länder and partly as a counter-reaction to the increased power of the central government. The states are increasingly jealous of rights transferred to Brussels and are discussing whether it is possible to conduct foreign policies independent of Bonn.

It is, however, in the domain of culture and psychology that the new Germany will be most clearly divided. The self-confident, modern, west Germans, with their European-American culture, can scarcely disguise their distaste for the backward cousins in the east who have emerged from 60 years of totalitarianism with all sorts of unpleasant attitudes.

The liberal-left elite, who may be denied national political power for a decade thanks to the conservative east Germans, find the cousins particularly unbearable. This section of the elite had long ago come to terms with the division of Germany, indeed found it reassuring - proof that "Germany" had transcended the single national state.

The writer Patrick Steinkühler spoke for much of this elite when describing, in a magazine article, how his happiness at hearing that the east Germans



Election campaign posters in Bonn

SOCIETY

The divisions that cannot be papered over

had won their freedom quickly turned to dismay when they chose national unity.

Most Germans under 50 years old would agree with him that they feel more at home in Tuscany than Thuringia. Many, even on the left, would also agree that unification has revealed an attachment to the modest, liberal, efficient old federal republic that they did not know they possessed.

To many young west Germans, the east Germans are above all *spießig* (pettily bourgeois), with the narrowness and authoritarianism typical of the upwardly mobile working class. Unable to travel, disillusioned by their Soviet occupiers, feeling superior to their Slav neighbours, and watching west Germany on TV, they have become dumbly xenophobic looking west and xenophobic looking east. What's more, runs the west German line, "the poor cousins want our money".

Such stigmatisation of east Germans will take time to dispel. Retaliatory east German

the Stasi showed. But the lack of a clean sweep of the old order leaves a cloud hanging over east German life and allows every mistake by Bonn or the five new east German states to be blamed on sabotage by "Stasi agents".

It seems that the new Germany will not, as some had hoped, absorb much of the human side of east German socialism - the intimacy, the lack of pushiness, the slower pace of life. But will it be more nationalistic? The initial evidence suggests new doubt about reunification in west Germany and the low-key celebrations on October 3 hardly indicate a new national euphoria. And a recent poll in west Germany even showed a majority remain opposed to changing the constitution to allow German soldiers to participate in Nato or UN operations outside Germany.

On the other hand, for more than a decade, coinciding with the rise to power of a generation untaught by the past, a "normalisation" of west German national attitudes has been under way.

Combine that with the enthusiastic nationalism of many east Germans and it seems logical to expect a more assertive culture to emerge over the next decade.

Germany's political élite - centre-right and centre-left - hopes to channel that assertiveness into "good works": rebuilding the former east bloc, saving the Third World, the environment, etc. But there are indications that the gap between élite and masses, rather narrow in the past, may be growing.

Ordinary people are not becoming aggressively nationalistic, but they may assert themselves more against the liberal consensus. They may be less ready to compromise over EC integration where German national interests appear threatened and less willing to pay for the historic tasks in the east bloc.

A deluge of political rhetoric about Germany's determination to be a good neighbour finds little echo from the people who live along the new Germany's most sensitive border - that with Poland.

Politicians talk of repealing the model of reconciliation with France after the war but on the streets of eastern Saxony, it is hard to find any desire for reconciliation with the Poles.

David Goodhart, Bonn

GERMAN unity has not been a happy experience for its trade union movement.

In the former East Germany the unions were merely organs of the party which collapsed when the party did. There was a brief attempt to establish independent, industry-based, unions in the west German lines in their place but it soon became clear that full-scale takeover by West Germany's 16 industrial unions was inevitable.

Initially, the west German trade unions did not want to be part of the task, realising how large and expensive it was likely to be. But the collapse of East Germany created a potential threat to West Germany's tightly controlled labour market, in the form of cheap labour, so the unions soon realised that their own self-interest required the annexation of East Germany.

Mr Berthold Huber, an official of the metal union I G Metall, who helped establish its first office in Leipzig in May, said at the time: "A non-union zone in East Germany or perhaps permanently at one-third the West German level would certainly reduce our power."

But in fact, west German capital has not hurried east to take advantage of the cheaper labour and that labour has become, in any case, considerably less cheap after the first wage round in east Germany, soon after currency union on July 1.

Meanwhile, the old east Germans have a private civil war to overcome. Last year's revolution was so quickly followed by unification that there was no time for a proper reckoning with the past. It is estimated that about two-thirds of the 2m former SED (communist) party members now vote for the centre-right Christian Democrats and many minor officials of the old regime have fitted comfortably into the new order, to the exasperation of the radicals who led the early stage of last year's revolution.

In a society in which almost everybody was to some extent a "yellow-traveller", it is hard to draw a clear line between the innocent and the guilty, as the agonised debates in the east German parliament over

The deals, which raised pay levels to about 80 per cent of

the west German level, have, by and large, stuck.

Union officials in West Germany say that employees in some endangered companies have agreed to take lower pay rises, but the expectation that the 12-month job guarantee in the metal industry would not be adhered to has proved incorrect. That seems to be largely thanks to Bonn's short-time

work scheme in which the government pays most of the wages.

The absorption of East Germany has in fact produced a fine display of west German industrial relations consensus. The big employers are not pressing to keep east Germany as a low wage country; indeed, most experts expect a harmonisation of pay and conditions as

that the joint statement on East Germany agreed in June between unions and employers in West Germany shows a fair higher level of agreement than usual.

Nonetheless, he sees difficulties ahead. The organisational takeover of the East German unions has not been without friction.

The former eastern I G

Metall did not like being pushed around by the western I G Metall and a nasty inter-union dispute between the West German public services union, OTV, and the mining union I G Bergbau, over who should represent 140,000 east German workers in water and energy supply remains unresolved.

Also union density in the eastern part of a united Germany is likely to remain considerably below west German levels for several years, thanks to a reaction against all collectivist organisations, especially in Saxony, the industrial heartland of east Germany. I G Metall officials have predicted that they could lose up to 1m of their 1.8m east German members.

The most immediate problem for the unions in the east is that they do not have the qualified people to operate West Germany's complex labour laws.

The whole system of co-determination, works councils and social plans has been extended to east Germany and in west Germany there are 16,000 trade unionists specially trained to represent workers in tribunals and carry out other official functions. About 2,200 are needed in east Germany.

Next year's wages round in east Germany will certainly be tougher for the unions. Properly differentiated wage structures will have to be established and the centralised bargaining system might have to accommodate two zones for a transitional period. Mr Franz Steinkühler, head of I G Metall, has already accepted that in principle.

Mr Steinkühler will certainly be relieved that his union has its phased reduction in the working week to 35 hours in west Germany under its belt.

For, in spite of the polite behaviour of the bigger west German employers, the next few years will be tough ones for the unions.

They will have to spend a lot of time and money on bread-and-butter trade union issues in the east and wage a constant campaign against smaller employers who will be keen to hire the many east Germans ready to work for far less than their west German cousins.

DG

FOREIGN WORKERS

Not an easy life for the guests

FOREIGN "guest workers" living in west, and especially east, Germany do not expect to enjoy an easier life as a result of unification. As unemployment rises in east Germany, perhaps pushing the all-German jobless figure up to 4m in the next 18 months, the political demand for repatriation may grow louder.

There are just over 5m foreigners living in the united Germany, about 5.4 per cent of the population. In the east it is 1.6 per cent, in the west: 7.7 per cent. In the west, the largest group, nearly one-third, are the Turks, who are the least well integrated of the big foreign communities. Behind them come the Yugoslavians, 1.8 per cent, and the Italians, 1.1 per cent.

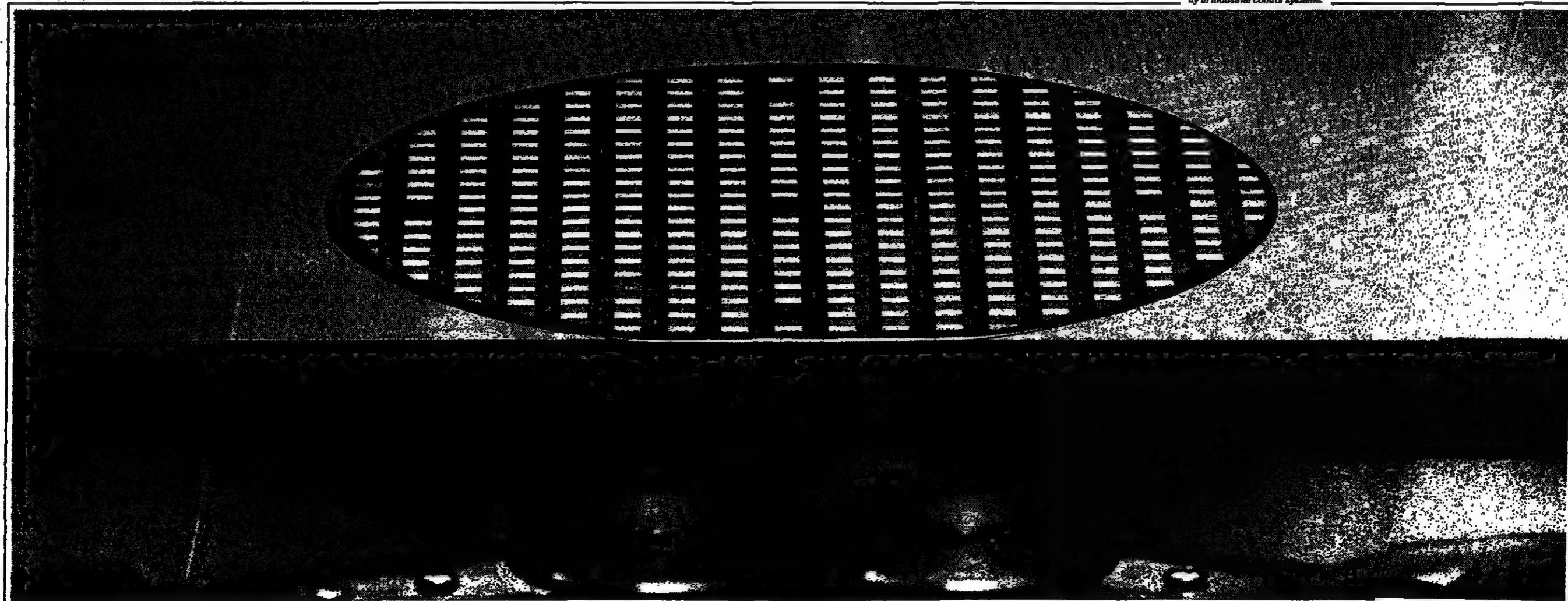
Of the 181,000 foreign workers in east Germany, 31 per

cent are Vietnamese and 27 per cent are Polish. Attempts east, Germany do not expect to enjoy an easier life as a result of unification. As unemployment rises in east Germany, perhaps pushing the all-German jobless figure up to 4m in the next 18 months, the political demand for repatriation may grow louder.

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GERMANY 8

PROFILE: Horst Teitschik

Firm hand in foreign affairs



Horst Teitschik: 'It has all gone very satisfactorily'

DURING THE dash to German unity, Mr Horst Teitschik, the chancellor's foreign policy adviser, has been at Mr Helmut Kohl's side all along. Looking back over a hectic year, Mr Teitschik says with relieved understatement: "It has all gone very satisfactorily."

A youthful 50-year-old, Mr Teitschik joined Mr Kohl's team in 1972 (when the latter was state premier in Rhine-Land-Palatinate) and has been one of his closest associates ever since. The head of the Chancellery's foreign policy and security department has had a decisive hand in all the milestone events along the reunification road - the chancellor's 10-point unity plan last November (quickly overtaken by events), the decision in February to aim for speedy currency union, and the crucial meeting with President Gorbachev in the Caucasus in July.

"These have all been very unbureaucratic decisions, under the pressure of circumstances," says Mr Teitschik. "Much had to be done without preparation. There were no precedents. Each time, we were doing something which had never happened before."

Tousle-haired Mr Teitschik still has the look of an overgrown student. He was born in the Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia, and as a five-year-old was forced to flee at the end of the war with his family to Bavaria. He was head of the Christian Democrat student association at Berlin's Free University in the late 1960s, but was independent-minded enough to be taken on as assistant to Professor Richard Löwenthal, the Social Democratic political scientist.

Mr Teitschik has a slightly self-deprecating manner, mixing straightforwardness with occasional whimsy. It is an effective combination. There is no love lost between him and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the foreign minister. The top Chancellery job held by Mr Teitschik since 1982 traditionally goes to a mainstream for-

sign ministry man. Mr Teitschik came in as an unconventional outsider. His periodic exercises in undiplomatic plain-speaking - especially, his harder line towards the Soviet Union - frequently earn him criticism from Mr Genscher's officials.

An example of the differences in style came when Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, suggested at the first "3 plus 4" session in May that German unity could be concluded without giving Germany full sovereignty over its external affairs. Mr Genscher agreed, believing that was the best which could be achieved at the time from Moscow, but Mr Teitschik quickly went on record to reject the proposal.

It soon became clear that Mr Kohl was listening to Mr Teitschik, not Mr Genscher, and official Bonn policy swung behind the line that internal and external sovereignty should be attained at the same time. That is what happened on October 3. Now that unity has been attained, Mr Teitschik is adamant that Bonn's policy has to be geared towards

the Bonn-Moscow relationship

MR OSKAR Lafontaine is the main political victim of unity. Last October, the 47-year-old premier of the Saarland still seemed the sensible choice as Social Democrat chancellor candidate for the national elections this December.

After the failure of the schoolmasterly Mr Hans-Joachim Vogel in the 1983 election and the uninspiring Mr Johannes Rau in 1987, the plucky Mr Lafontaine was a breath of fresh air. "He embodies the post-material, post-national values of our German unity," says a friend.

Nato proposals to organise western forces on west German soil in multinational contingents have been bogged down by France's refusal to integrate its army within the alliance. Another stumbling block comes from France's doctrine of independent nuclear deterrence - about all its plans to upgrade its short-range nuclear missile (which it launched would

West Germans such as Mr Lafontaine are not actually opposed to reunification but certainly out of sympathy with the feelings that accompany it. Germany, he has said, is a "provisional entity" which has rediscovered the nation's unity just as the nation state is becoming superfluous.

The SPD now seems saddled with an all-German liability rather than the uplifting standard-bearer of west German red-green politics they chose a year ago. Mr Lafontaine cannot appeal to both west and east Germans without changing his basic approach, which he has refused to do. Whether he lives to fight again may depend on how badly the SPD is defeated, how much of the blame he has to carry, and how he reacts to his first big political defeat.

Colleagues who argue that his refusal to adapt to the new reality has cost the party dear have some damning evidence. The SPD did not suffer, initially, from the rush to unification. It reflected, better than the government, West Germany's ambivalence towards the collapse of East Germany. With the elderly ex-chancellor

MR Günther Krause's former life - lecturing at the Technical University in Wismar - seems far remote from that of the 37-year-old minister in Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Cabinet who is responsible for the east German economy.

But the stocky technocrat with doctorates in construction engineering and information systems still speaks with pride of developing a computer-aided system to vary the pre-fabricated apartment buildings in Rostock so that they stand out from East Germany's endless blocks of slab-housing.

In 1987, Mr Krause became regional head of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) which he had joined in 1974 after an obligatory two-year stint in the National People's Army. The CDU was the largest and most servile of the "bloc" parties allied with the ruling Communists.

The demands made on non-communists such as himself, Mr Krause noted recently, were far greater than on "comrades". "One had to achieve more than a Communist to get anywhere," he observes.

When Mr Mikhail Gorbachev buried the Brezhnev Doctrine of limited sovereignty for Moscow's allies, Mr Krause saw East Germany's chance to become more independent. He and a group of like-minded CDU members met privately to discuss the failures of the planned economy and the only alternative, the social market economy in West Germany.

After the Honecker regime

PROFILE: Oskar Lafontaine

Victim of unity



Oskar Lafontaine

pouring into the west, prior to unity, but he managed to sound anti-east German.

Arguably, he was also right to claim that the government's rather laissez-faire approach to monetary union was causing unnecessary economic destruction and raising the price of unity for west Germans, but sounded as if he was promising more state support to east Germans while bemoaning the costs of unity to the west.

Mr Lafontaine cannot be written off. He is one of Europe's first real post-industrial political leaders. He comes from the left but regards himself as a problem-solver and if left-wing ideology or trade union interests get in the way of a rational solution, he chooses the rational solution.

He appeals to the generation which was marked by the 1968 student movement, most of whom have grown to like their modest little republic and feel uncomfortable about Germany playing a larger role on the world stage.

David Goodhart

PROFILE: Günther Krause

CDU reformer



Krause: practical

tell Mr Krause was elected CDU chairman in the northern state-to-be of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Delegated to the party executive in Berlin, he caught the eye of Mr Lothar de Maiziere, the new CDU chairman. Highly articulate - although his soft accent still betrays his origins in Halle - and able to digest great amounts of information, he exuded a self-confidence rare among east Germans.

Mr Krause was chosen as CDU parliamentary whip in April and was appointed state secretary to Prime Minister de Maiziere. It was in this post that he led the East German delegation in the negotiations for German unification.

One of his most difficult moments, he recalls, came on the first day of negotiations in April when he was presented with West Germany's rough draft of the treaty. He had only four hours to study it and prepare our position," he notes.

Another precarious moment was during a demonstration last summer by tens of thousands of irate farmers in East Berlin at which the agriculture minister was shouted down and pelted with fruit. Mr Krause, no thin-skinned individual and married to an agricultural scientist, grabbed a

microphone and assured the farmers that aid was in the pipeline.

"You don't see the farmers demonstrating these days," he notes with satisfaction. He is in favour of founding new farm co-operatives and even large-scale state farms. "Remember, 60 per cent of the land in Mecklenburg and Vorpommern consisted of state farms before the war," he recalls.

Mr Krause's services to German unity, his engineering and computer background and his strong practical bent, led Chancellor Kohl to confirm him as

immigration while attacking the centre-right for its "German-blood" policy towards east European immigration.

He also has an impressive record in his home state of Saarland, a depressed former steel and coal region. He was born there in 1943, the son of a baker killed on the last day of the war, and was brought up by his devout Catholic mother. He joined the party in 1968 while studying as a physicist and 10 years later became the youngest ever mayor of Saarbrücken, the state capital. Then in 1977 he won the state from the Christian Democrats, becoming the youngest ever minister president.

Despite resentment of his high-handed manner he also risen rapidly in the national SPD, helped by a speaking ability rare in German politics. His cocksure manner can sometimes appear rather immature, his delivery rather autocratic, and his intellectual arrogance unbearable. But unlike some politicians, his love of power does seem to know limits.

He has a life and interests outside politics; friends say he has often considered retiring from public life. His life-style could scarcely be more different to Chancellor Kohl's ultra-German conservatism.

Mr Lafontaine holidays in Spain or Italy, as opposed to Mr Kohl's Austria; he wears stylish clothes, counts pop-stars among his friends, speaks French and English, and is a good cook. He is twice divorced with a young son and now lives with a 34-year-old economist, described as a "feminist punk" in the popular press, who has strengthened his concern for sex equality.

He appeals to the generation which was marked by the 1968 student movement, most of whom have grown to like their modest little republic and feel uncomfortable about Germany playing a larger role on the world stage.

David Goodhart

Profile: Hans Daniels

Bonn stakes its claim



Daniels: no early move

ON SHOW in a display cabinet outside the office of Mr Hans Daniels, the mayor of Bonn is a collection of gifts from the great and the good, writes David Marsh.

A stream of visiting foreign leaders has climbed the Renaissance town hall steps over the last few decades to inscribe their names in the city's Golden book - and most have left behind some memento.

Mr Daniels rather likes the angular pp sculpture in pink, black and white brought by President François Mitterrand in 1977. Slightly more conventional - but no less ugly - is a stoneware vase with views of the Kremlin offloaded by President Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989.

The flow ofately presents for Bonn may dwindle now that Berlin has been formally made the capital of the new Germany. But I will dry up altogether if parliament next year decides to take the old

Prussian capital the seat of government as well.

At present, this seems unlikely. Mr Daniels' lobbying to convince the Germans of the merits of splitting capital city functions between Bonn and Berlin has fallen on generally receptive minds.

Largely because of anxieties in both east and west Germany that a fully-fledged capital in Berlin would weaken the structure of federalism, Mr Daniels is confident that there will be no early move from the Rhine. "The more people think about it, the more they see that there is no sensible reason to transfer the government."

Longer term, however, Berlin has some strong cards to play. Hitler disliked the city on the Spree and dreamed of baptising it German once it had been rebuilt according to the ideals of monumental fascism. Bonn has undoubtedly small-town charm. But the Führer's remark in the mid-

1930s to his architect Albert Speer - "Artificially-created cities always remain lifeless" - still strikes a chord with some Germans.

The attractions of Berlin will rise once the short-term economic and social problems of reunification start to fade later in the 1990s. The Berlin of 1929 - with a population of 4.3m, boasting at Tempelhof the biggest and best airport in the world, and providing the headquarters of one quarter of all German joint stock companies - will not be recreated in a hurry.

But a parliamentary thumb-down for Berlin next year will not represent the last word on where the German government will end up.

Even if Bonn wins a stay of execution, the many foreign governments which have maintained pre-1945 embassy sites in Berlin can still be expected to keep open the option of an eventual return to the Spree.

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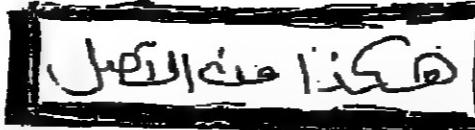
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Petra David, Development Consultant, Magistrat Halle

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GERMANY 10

Ernst-Moritz Lipp assesses the economic outlook

THE extended Federal Republic has to cope both with the shock of internal currency union and the changed external circumstances caused by the Gulf crisis.

The primary effects of both events can already be analysed. The larger part of the new Germany – the 11 Länder from the West – is still enjoying unbroken growth. July's introduction of the D-Mark into east Germany set off a strong demand push benefiting the west German economy. Domestic demand for manufactured goods rose in July by 4 per cent compared with June, and was up 5.5 per cent compared with the average level of the second quarter.

The exaggerated "demand shock" expected by many will not materialise. German producers have reacted to the extra demand with great flexibility. Especially in consumer goods, German capacity limits are much less rigid than had previously been feared.

Another factor easing strains has been that exports have slackened appreciably and that German wholesalers have been stepping up imports. With the expansion of the goods range on offer in eastern Germany, turnover in the west German retail trade will normalise in coming months and will shift, in effect, to the east. Companies are also

moving increasingly towards starting up production facilities in east Germany. The west German washing powder manufacturer Henkel, for instance, has decided to buy a company in east Germany, and will produce and package washing powder "on site" in the new market. Only the east German company's research department will be closed, as Henkel has sufficient capacity at its headquarters in Düsseldorf.

Similarly, we shall see food companies turning increasingly to east German production. For the moment, though, "split" economy between east and west Germany will continue. In the west, output is expanding sharply, while in the east, it is still falling. This has not happened merely since currency union on July 1 – production in the east has been in decline since the end of 1989.

Although the situation varies from sector to sector, production in the east by the end of this year is likely to be 10 to 20 per cent lower

than at end-1989. The decline is particularly pronounced in sectors such as confectionery, coffee, precision and optical machinery, mining equipment and plastics, which have registered reductions of between 20 and 50 per cent.

On the other hand, some sectors are enjoying high growth rates – printing, shipbuilding, data processing, railway wagons and measuring and control equipment. There are signs of an end to the recession in the east German construction industry, while the general situation in the retail and services areas is stable.

In the meantime even pessimistic observers abroad should realise that reunification will not lead Germany to an inflation path. Forecasts in London and New York at the beginning of the year that Germany would have an inflation rate of 6 per cent were completely overdone. On the contrary, unification has proved to have more deflationary than inflationary consequences.

This will remain the case for as long as wages in east Germany remain clearly below the level in the west of the country – a period which will last for several years still. During this time, there will be a natural brake on wage increases in the west. East German workers on lower wages will be travelling to find employment. Even after the dampening of the great flood of emigration at the end of 1989 and the beginning of 1990, many east Germans are still attracted by the idea of moving permanently to the west.

M monetary analysis also shows that a wave of inflation cannot be expected. The Bundesbank has taken over the monetary controls for the whole of Germany. Among the east German population, there is great interest in capital accumulation. Investors are buying up securities to profit from high rates of interest. One old cliché has been disproven: the Germans in east and west are great savers.

What about the general economic

policy environment? The public sector deficit has been sharply expanded, and will be around DM100 bn for 1990 alone for the whole of Germany. The increases in state spending have had a clear effect in boosting the economy. Certainly, without reunification, nobody would have suggested running an expansionary fiscal policy in 1990 and 1991. Now, however, circumstances have changed. Budget policy is helping the new Germany to become a stabilising factor for the whole of Europe – including the former east bloc countries. The high German deficit is also helpful in countering any risks stemming from the uncertain state of the world economy.

It will none the less be necessary for the central, state and municipal governments after the elections on December 2 to agree a budgetary consolidation package to reduce the public deficits from 1992 onwards by DM20bn or more. The unity emphasis has certainly proved short-lived. But the reports of crisis in east

Germany are only one part of the truth. Although the east Germans have their backs to the wall, creative forces are being released which a year ago would have been undreamed of. In some industrial sectors, investors who are seeking to acquire companies find that the competition has bought up everything available. In the next few weeks the Treuhand is sending out the prospectuses for privatising 1,500 companies. Soon afterwards, foreign and domestic investors will be called to put in bids, and then the Tuhand will have to make quick decisions on what offers to accept at what price. Improvisation is necessary – and the well-known German "Gründlichkeit" (thoroughness) sometimes has to fly by the wayside.

In a 10 years' time, the economy in the eastern part of Germany will look completely different from today. There will be less industry, and more trading and service companies. But not just thinking of

sausage stands. Rather, at the moment there is a lack of many type of business-oriented services – transport and storage, repair workshops, consulting communications companies, financial services. This gap will be made good.

The regional economic structure will also look different. There will be focal points of growth, probably in the south, around Dresden and Leipzig, and these will attract jobs and investment from the areas around. Dresden (500,000 population) can, for instance, grow to twice the size of today. There will clearly be fewer industrial production sites than ordained by economic planning of the last 40 years.

So it is no wonder that we see TV pictures where factory closures lead to half the workforce in small towns losing their jobs. New ones will be created in new places. In the new-growth areas, and people will have to commute to work in the morning and evenings. As a result, the decline in employment which we are seeing in east Germany will continue further. As part of the removal of structural damage wrought during the last 4 years, job cuts are painful, but necessary.

The author is chief economist, Dresdner Bank

been successful. But the US acquisitions in the late 1980s by the Hoechst chemical group of Celanese, by the Böllmann media concern of ORCA records and Doubleday publishing, and by Continental tyres of General Tire, have shown that German business is becoming more multinationals.

The chemical and pharmaceutical groups, including BASF and Bayer and the smaller Henkel and Schering, are among the most global of west German companies. So, too, are the motor manufacturers. VW is involved in Spain, South America, and China, while Mercedes also has truck plants in South America and Spain, as well as in the US, Indonesia, and South Africa.

The fact that many German companies have spread their activities so far afield gives them extra financial and industrial strength, but certainly does not make them any less vulnerable to market pressures. Niedorf Computer, for example, a former high-flying success after it ran into acute difficulties in a toughly competitive market. VW has come under cost pressures, while the big chemical groups have seen their profits eroded by the strength of the D-Mark.

Providing a taste of what the future may bring for west German companies, unused to the threat of hostile takeovers, Pirelli of Italy recently launched a bid for Continental tyres which sent the latter rapidly into defensive gear. It comes as the world tyre industry is suffering from low prices and intense competition. Whatever the outcome of Pirelli's attempt, the German corporate scene will probably never be quite the same again. With all the excitement about opportunities in the east, it is easy to forget that German companies are still fighting their main battles in western markets.

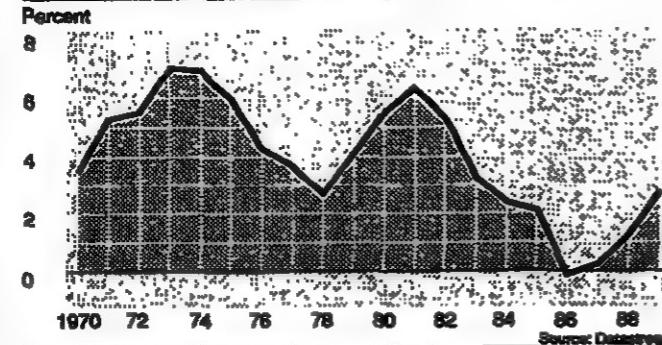
about 25 per cent of companies destined for closure.

The growth sectors in the short term will be services and building. Parts of the machine tool sector have a future. West Germany's car industry, in particular, has indicated that it wants to see the growth of a competitive machine tool sector to reduce its dependence on a handful of west German suppliers. East German companies may benefit for similar reasons in other sectors.

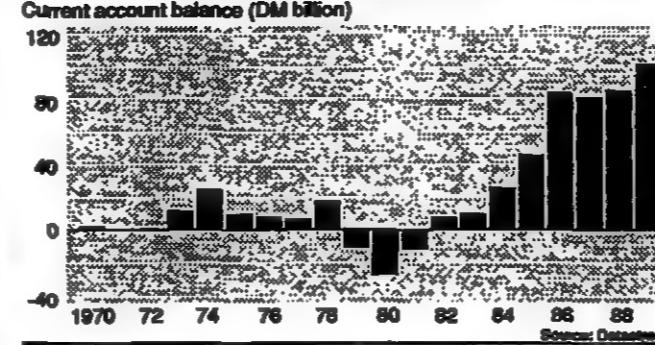
Judging by the small business sector, the entrepreneurial spirit is still slumbering but not completely dead. Nearly 30,000 applications have been made from east Germany to the European Recovery Programme for cheap loans. Mr Roland Berger, leading consultant, reckons that living standards in east Germany will reach the current west German level by 1995 and that economic disparities should have all but disappeared by 2000. On the way, he predicts unemployment in east Germany will reach 3.2m, in spite of the withdrawal of 1m women from the labour market.

He says that by 2000 east Germany will be the Japan of the EC with a more sophisticated infrastructure than west Germany. But like many other critics, Mr Berger believes that the first few months of economic union could have been better organised.

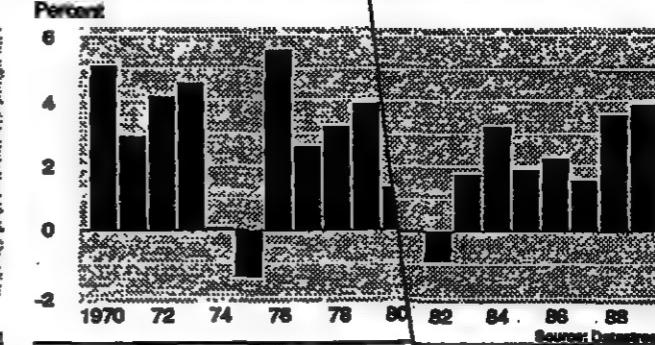
West Germany: Inflation



West Germany: Balance of payments

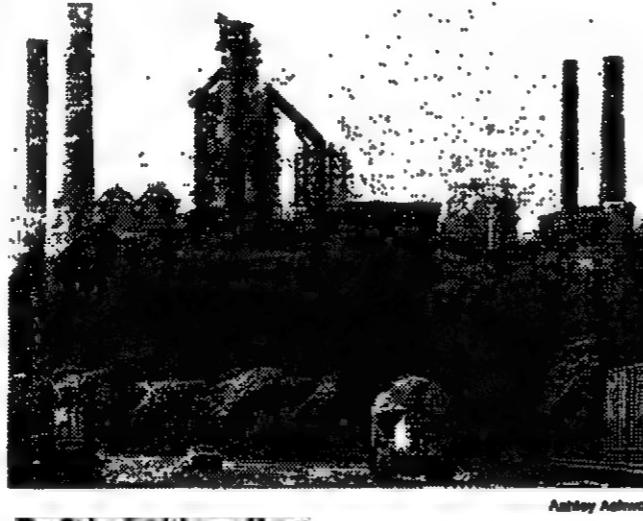


West Germany: RealGDP growth



Demand from the east has industry hopping, writes Andrew Fisher

Invasion of consumables



The Ruhr district near Mönchengladbach

truck subsidiary of Daimler-Benz, AEG, the electronics and electrical subsidiary of Daimler-Benz, and energy companies RWE and Veba are also putting

down roots in east Germany. On a smaller scale, BMW, the up-market carmaker, plans to set up a plant for large machine tools, while Robert Bosch is linking up with an east German company in the car components sector.

All of these west German investors are household names. They represent west Germany's industrial might, which has turned in soaring trade surpluses and made the country into one of the world's

most powerful exporters, its main markets being in nearby west Europe.

Now that some of these neighbouring economies are slowing down, some of the west German output that might have gone to, say, France, the Netherlands, or the UK, is flowing into east Germany. This will have the healthy effect of curbing west Germany's big trade surplus, which totalled DM155bn in 1988, but could cause inflationary problems later as output continues at full stretch.

Because east Germany's relative smugness compared with other big markets, many companies from west Germany can obviously get demand from their households, sending in goods rather than investing in new plant in the east. But whether they stay put or advance eastwards, new capacity will be required to satisfy the extra 16 people added through German unity. Thus the west German corporate investment die is likely to continue.

West German companies have already lashed deeper into worldwide markets, their earlier selling successes more recently being followed up by direct investment, notably in the US. Not all of these have

David Goodhart looks at the economic prospects in the east

Slumbering but not dead

THE CONSERVATIVE German Economic Institute recently published a report predicting that future economic growth in east Germany would be 7.5 per cent a year and that the lift to the west German economy from unity would make the undertaking self-financing.

Germany's Trade Union Federation could not control itself. Next day it responded on the front page of the main business daily, saying that GNP in eastern Germany would fall (by more than 10 per cent this year and the same again next year; the east would soon have 2.5m unemployed, including short-time workers doing nothing; and unity would require fresh borrowing of DM100bn per annum for several years.

Both views are right. It just depends which data you choose to highlight and, in particular, what time-scale you take. The consensus is that the upswing in east Germany will begin in the second half of next year, roughly 18 months after monetary union was agreed. Rather later, in other words, than most people had hoped. That upswing depends on

investment and even Mr Helmut Kohl's attempts to prod west German businesses' patriotic conscience had little effect. The government is trying tastier cash incentives. Investment grants in east Germany may be as high as 33 per cent, and now the Free Democrats are pressing hard for a temporary suspension of all corporate taxes in the east.

That might help, although Mr Klaus-Dieter Finsdeisen, head of KPMG Peat Marwick Treuhand, believes that west German business is waiting for

the former east bloc to appear to be grinding to a halt. The honouring of east German industry's contracts with further east was supposed to act as a cushion during the process of adaptation to a market economy but many contracts have been cancelled because the former east bloc countries cannot pay the hard currency prices.

Social stories predicting social unrest in east Germany as unemployment began to rise have proved unfounded. Most of the 500,000 unemployed workers are getting paid more now than they did when they worked. They get 70 per cent of wages while they have risen since July 1, although average wages remain about 60 per cent of the west German level.

Short-time working affects 1.8m, of whom nearly one-third are in effect doing no work. In most cases they receive 50 per cent of the newly raised wages. Bonn pays 65 per cent and the companies pay the rest. Workers on short-time are supposed to be retained, but few are.

Bonn's support for short-

time working runs out next June, and full unemployment benefit lasts only about a year, so if new jobs are not being created by then, more east Germans could start to feel the pinch. But they will continue to east Bonn a lot of money and to depress tax revenues from east Germany; so the later the "take-off", the higher the cost of unity.

Reports claim that the cost of living in east Germany has fallen since monetary union, in spite of the price rises, thanks to problems in the retail sector. Prices have tumbled for cars, televisions and luxury goods but the price of basics is certainly higher than it used to be. Existence has become more expensive, though living comfortably is cheaper.

(That is one reason Bonn has just decided to raise the minimum pension, of DM495 a month, by 16 per cent, especially as more subsidies, of energy for example, will disappear from next year).

Meanwhile, in spite of having just swallowed DM20bn in liquidity credits, the east German corporate sector has only just begun rationalising, with

the Atlantic Hotel Kempinski Hamburg.

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GERMANY 11

East Germans share their western cousins' driving passion

Full throttle to the future

From the sublime to the ridiculous: the Trabant makes way for luxury cars from the west

SMALL BUSINESS**Adapting fast and joyously**

WEDNESDAY October 3 was a normal working day at the Gersöne printing concern. Well, almost normal.

When thousands of Leipzigans were crowded on to the streets for its unification holiday, Mr and Mrs Gersöne were catching up on customer orders. But as participants in last year's peaceful Monday marches that spawned the bewildering changes in East Germany, the couple, in their early 50s, are far from untouched by the drama of the revolution. Wholeheartedly embracing the new environment.

The machinery used to seize up at about 2 deg C'

not - "Unity cannot come quickly enough," says Mrs Gersöne, in marked contrast to many of her more fearful friends - they are full of hope; they plot the regeneration of old family business in the re-war printing capital of Germany.

A printer of office and personal stationery, Mr Gersöne operates the business started by his grandfather in 1934. Until now functioning with a Heidelberg letterpress dating from that year, the overnight arrival of the social market economy for him takes the concrete form of an Apple Macintosh desk-top publishing system, laser printer and three tonnes of new equipment from Heidelberg, the west German firm.

His wife, expressing the genuine (if not yet very capitalist-sounding) motivation behind the steady stream of 15-hour working days in the new conditions demand from both of them, explains: "We owe it to my husband's father, who struggled on crutches up these three flights of stairs every day until his 93rd birthday. All that effort cannot have been for nothing."

Previously working in a leaking, unheated loft ("the machinery seized up at about 2 deg C"), the Gersönes struggled to produce to their satisfaction for some 100 clients, who included the Leipzig Volkszeitung, the local newspaper created following the 1949 revolution, and the Bibliographisches Institut, publishers of the Duden dictionary. In a climate in which virtually every new order had to be officially registered (Department of Printing Approval), their style was also cramped by the stipulation that wood-free paper could be used only for export materials.

Needless to say, that included materials for the Leipzig Messe, the trade fair that twice a year paraded the communist eastern Europe's finest wares.

Nor was there any incentive to hire the eight other assistants officially tolerated per private business under the old regime. The couple could easily generate by themselves the expected, electricity three times more expensive, and so monthly profit allowed - to make any extra was pointless since as it was at most than 9 per cent.

Now the leaking loft is being fixed, a wall will come out: the new Heidelberg is swung by crane, and three new staff have been hired. Two more will be added later in the year to help Mr Gersöne, who is a trained printer.

But it is the diminutive, ceaselessly volatile Mrs Gersöne who runs the company. "My husband has no idea if he is in the files, whether we have money or not. All he knows is that he's got to do it. He's less than 12 months, it's as hard to master everything on 30 years of western plough technology development to discounted cash flows."

The DM350,000 7.5 cent 10-year loan arranged by the Bayerische Versicherung (BV), the biggest Bavarian local bank that has export fast

ruted and potholed, have filled rapidly with second-hand models from the west. Most are family cars, but a few of the more well-heeled east Germans managed to lay out enough for relatively new Mercedes and BMWs. Even Peugeot could find a few new models in the east.

Once the east German economy picks up, demand for new cars is expected to rise sharply. Volkswagen, involved in a DM5bn project near Zwickau, expects the market to reach 500,000 new cars in 1991 and around 700,000 by the end of the century. It expects to sell 50,000 new cars this year alone in east Germany, far more than it first estimated. Next year, it hopes for 100,000.

By the end of the 1990s, car output in east Germany should total some 440,000 units a year, according to Automotive Industry Data of the UK. This will take total car production to more than 5.3m units from a forecast near 5m in 1990 and 4.8m (of which 4.6m was in west Germany) last year.

VW's goal is to bring capacity at Zwickau up to 250,000 Golfs a year, having begun with assembly of its small Polo. Opel, the German subsidiary of General Motors of the US, wants to build a plant at Eisenach, just inside the former east German border, to turn out its small Corsa and family Kadett models.

Such ventures - Opel is awaiting GM's go-ahead - are likely to benefit from the grants and subsidies offered to stimulate the eastern economy. Opel has begun assembling its

mid-range Vectra model in Eisenach. Priced at DM25,000, it is not cheap by the standards of the lower incomes in Germany's new eastern states but Opel reckons it will find enough buyers for the 10,000 it will turn out annually.

Even the rustiest old bangers are better than the cars which east Germans used to drive. The Trabant, which carried so many people across the border in the euphoric days when the Wall was breached, is now a non-starter among eastern German consumers. It is, however, still produced for east European markets.

As car penetration levels in eastern Germany approach those in the richer west, new roads will have to be built, more service stations set up, and far more driving licences issued. The infrastructure is years behind that in the west.

Moreover, the coming of the modern automobile will mean severe disruption in industry. At Eisenach, for example, more than 9,000 people were employed to make Wartburg cars, including parts. Far fewer will be needed in the new operation. Some jobs will be absorbed by other operations.

BMW is building a new machine tool plant near Eisenach and will draw on available labour. But many will have to look elsewhere for work.

Ultimately, the strength of the car market will depend on the development of the economy, and thus new employment, in eastern Germany. But one thing is sure: there will be no return to the days of the ugly little Trabant with its plastic body and choking exhaust. Germans in the east have developed a taste for style, quality and, their often inadequate roads permitting, speed.

Andrew Fisher

Those thin concrete ribbons may be quaint...

A trip back in time

Traffic stops altogether on the Leipzig to Dresden autobahn

OLD black-and-white films show smiling motorists a few generations ago, always wearing a coat and tie. Usually they wave to the camera before clambering into their narrow-bodied automobiles to drive away and the cameras over the concrete ribbons.

East Germany's boxy Trabant cars resemble your basic car from the past. The narrow concrete ribbons are also still there. Driving along Autobahns in eastern Germany at the maximum 100 km/h is akin to a trip back in time.

For today's drivers from the west, the narrow roads without any shoulders or guardrails do not qualify as safe highways. At Eisenach, for example, more than 9,000 people were employed to make Wartburg cars, including parts. Far fewer will be needed in the new operation. Some jobs will be absorbed by other operations.

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A preliminary survey of the

repaired. No fewer than 30,000 bridges in eastern Germany urgently require attention.

With those kind of bills, the finance ministry has suggested private funds might be established to invest in road building, apartments and telecommunications. Publicly-financed services could also increase user fees to help pay for themselves.

Toll roads built by private investors could ease the financial crunch of rebuilding east Germany's infrastructure. A US group has suggested building a privately-financed motorway between Dresden and Görlitz in the south-east. The transport ministry will give a decision on this next year.

Dennis Phillips

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Lufthansa

Katherine Campbell

GERMANY 12

The debate over European monetary union centres around the Bundesbank. David Marsh outlines the central bank's view

THE BUNDESBANK this year has received a rude shock and an extension of its role. It is shaping up for an even bigger challenge — over the future of European money.

The shock came in February when Mr Karl Otto Pöhl, the president, learnt that Chancellor Kohl had changed his mind within 24 hours and decided to go full speed ahead towards German monetary union (GMU). The extension came on July 1 when the D-Mark was introduced into east Germany — a foretaste of political union which came on October 3.

The challenge centres on the war of nerves over European Monetary Union (Emu). Having been taken by surprise over German monetary union, the Bundesbank is warning that it will not be pushed into a corner in the horse-trading over the inter-governmental conference on Emu which starts in Rome at the end of the year.

The central bank's basic stance on Emu has been as outlined by Mr Pöhl for several years. The bank is not willing to see a new system set up which is less stable than the D-Mark-anchored European Monetary System, *de facto* operated by the Bundesbank.

Now that Emu negotiations

are within range, the Bundesbank is making sure that its voice is heard at the highest political level. The bank's policy-making council unveiled on September 19 a lengthy document setting out a series of tough conditions for the path towards a single currency and European central bank.

The mooted central bank must be built on German-style criteria: independence and anti-inflation commitment. No timetable should be set up for the route to full Emu. Much greater strides should be made towards economic convergence before institutional changes in the European central bank structure can be considered.

For example, just one of the Bundesbank's conditions for the "final stage" of Emu — the move to irrevocably set exchange rates — is that "inflation has been very largely eliminated in all countries".

Mindful of its reputation as the guardian of German money — and of the political turbulence caused in the past when principles of monetary soundness have been disregarded — the Bundesbank does not hesitate to take an almost apocalyptic line. "An early irrevocable fixing of exchange rates

A war of monetary nerves



Discussing the future of European money: Pöhl (far left); who is taking a firm stance has the support of finance minister Waigel (left) which has annoyed foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (right); Tietmeyer (far right) is emerging as a pivotal figure

and the transfer of monetary policy powers to Community institutions would involve considerable risks to monetary stability, especially for the Federal Republic of Germany," said last month's document.

In his campaign to preserve the sanctity of the D-Mark, Mr Pöhl believes that the desire of the populace for monetary stability will take precedence over Bonn's political need (above all, with France in mind) to

press ahead with European monetary integration. As he put it succinctly last month: "I cannot imagine that the government will agree to compromises which the Bundesbank believes to be wrong."

Some of Germany's EC partners have tried to use German monetary union as a device to accelerate Bonn's policies on Emu. If currency union can be put into action between two such diverse economies as

those in the capitalist and communist halves of Germany, then it should be possible between Germany and the rest of Europe — despite existing economic differences."

The unspoken stance of France or Italy is that other countries are tired of a European currency policy run by the Bundesbank; the new system must force the Bundesbank to give up power.

starkly demonstrates, the bank says, the costs of merging currencies between regions of economic disparity before they have had time to converge. The bank's document last month says that, because of the economic challenges of unification, Germany will not be ready to enter into any further commitments on Emu until the "substantial transitional problems" of German unification are on the way to solution. At the earliest, the bank believes that this will be around 1993.

The opposing arguments about the links between GMU and Emu will rumble on. The French government is particularly irked that, having extracted a promise from Mr Kohl in April to step up European integration as a condition for German reunification, Emu seems to be backtracking.

Mr Theo Waigel, the finance minister, has given Mr Pöhl full backing in the bid to prevent agreement on any firm Emu timetable. This is much to the annoyance of Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the foreign minister, who wants to press ahead with Emu much faster.

Mr Hans Tietmeyer, a member of Mr Kohl's Christian Democrats, and the former

state secretary at the finance ministry, moved to the Bundesbank at the beginning of the year but was brought in during the spring as the chancellor's personal negotiator over GMU.

At the Bundesbank, Mr Tietmeyer drew up a document on Emu released last month based on length discussions in the central bank's council. He is playing a leading role in the discussions inside about the future status of a European central bank and will be a pivotal figure.

Britain's full membership of the EMS may give Germany a secret ally in the bid to slow down far-reaching commitments to Emu. Emu's stranglehold on the exchange mechanism adds to potential EMS tensions, and is likely to complicate the Rome inter-governmental conference. The Bundesbank's plan is clearly to continue saying "Yes" to the eventual goal of Emu but to hedge with an increasing number of "Buts".

The aim is to keep the D-Mark reasonably strong to dampen inflation risks east German economic restructuring continues. Whether the government and Bundesbank like to admit it or not, Emu is taking a back seat.

that of Deutsche, with Commerzbank lagging very considerably behind. But two regional banks do not use a nation-wide network as it remains to be seen how the integration process develops.

East Germany, meanwhile, if a strategic headache, as proved a welcome quasi-expansion to the cramped domestic market. The strategy of Deutsche and Dresden in capitalising on the old network to attain maximum presence as early as possible appears to have paid dividends.

As resider, by contrast, participating profits for the first half grew just 1.8 per cent, with commission earnings only up by a same percentage. In this the underlying full year ratio could, with the burden east Germany, be a fraction lower than last year, before cutting the first-time consolidated of Banque Internationale d'Affaires, the French bank.

Commerzbank is expected to improve considerably on last year's underperformance. Interest margin have now stabilised, exposure in the east has been best as it did not get a crack the Staatsbank (state bank network), and a higher dividend is virtually assured. However, an upset in the familiar-looking order of the big three banks was caused earlier in the year when Bayerische Vereinsbank, the Bavarian bank, joined to a majority in holding Hamburg's Vereins- und Wissbank.

On a consolidated basis its balance sheet is bigger than that of Commerzbank, traditionally the major three German bank.

The configuration is "certainly a new foil to be reckoned with" according to Mr Thomas Albrecht banking analyst at UBS Phillips & Drew, who points that on a simple measure the ratio of operating profit to total costs, BVA's profitability close to

Katherine Campbell

The financial community is facing the chill winds of increased competition after 1992

Foreign expansion strategy under scrutiny



Bayerische Vereinsbank in Leipzig on currency union day

were forced either to team up with insurers for cross marketing exercises or to set up their own independent insurance subsidiaries.

Some of these initiatives have made a promising start but analysts believe it will be some considerable time before the new ventures make a sizeable impact on profitability.

Still, 1990 at least is expected to be another good year for the

specie of legalised money funds in Germany — long-mooted and now increasingly — could reek even more profound changes for the big institutions who could see their savings base eroded virtually overnight as funds flow to high yielding alternatives.

Still, 1990 at least is expected to be another good year for the

big private banks, in places thanks to some new revenue sources. Analysts think, for example, that Deutsche Bank has done particularly well in derivative products, including tailor-made over-the-counter instruments where margins can be lucrative. Against this has to be set the very considerable software and other invest-

ment costs of the DTB, the options exchange introduced at the beginning of the year that spurred the surge in derivatives market activity.

Mr Stephen Lewis, banking analyst at UBS Phillips & Drew, who points that on a simple measure the ratio of operating profit to total costs, BVA's profitability close to

pros are being hurt by market conditions, particularly in equities, necessitating write-downs at the end of August totalling DM400m.

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Katherine Campbell

FROM A prefabricated building planted in one of Leipzig's municipal car parks Mr Reinhold Mayer enthusiastically recalls the frenetic activity on Sunday, July 1 when the D-Mark came east and his staff, some two days out of college, worked from 8am through to 11.30pm, paying out crisp new notes to all-comers.

Clad in ebullient green jacket and colour-co-ordinated spectacles, Mr Mayer, branch manager in Leipzig for the biggest Bavarian bank, Bayerische Vereinsbank, is still wide-eyed at the quite different moves in the east.

"We advanced a car loan to a man who subsequently lost his job. He paid us back immediately — trawling his friends for the money," he observes. "I hope it stays that way."

The west German banks in general are pleased with their move east. It is providing strategic problems as the timetable for economic and political union shortened before their planning committees, it has also proved an exciting diversion from the overbanked domestic market.

In an atmosphere when industry was blanching at involvement with the crumbling economy, it has fallen on the numbers to teach the basics of capitalism to the isolated and sheltered east Germans.

The banks have found their feet considerably faster than expected — though they remain far too dependent on the speed and extent of the revival of the eastern states' economy for any reliable estimates of profitability to be made at this stage.

As recently as April, when a law was passed reforming the old east German banking monopoly, western institutions, then operating exclusively out of hotel rooms, had little idea when they would be able to open branches. Roughly a month later, they could be more or less sure that business would commence on July 1. From that moment on, the relics of the communist banking system became a threatened species.

Meanwhile, it quickly became clear that, with market share to be captured in the early months, the boldest (and wildest) would win.

Consequently Deutsche Bank, and to a lesser extent Dresden Bank, muscled their way into the newly created Deutsche Kreditbank, the commercial banking arm of the old state monolith Kreditbank, correctly assessing its own prospects as dim, was above all concerned with the welfare of its vast staff.

In exchange for a ready-made network and a virtual initial monopoly on corporate clients, Deutsche and Dresden took on respectively 3,500 and 3,500 of the former state employees, the bulk of them women.

For many of the other banks, the complete dearth of suitable office space meant swapping hotel rooms for buses and pre-fabs. Even installing prefabs was tricky; a Commerzbank official recalls the battle with the Leipzig authorities to set up their own two-storey building because of complaints at the "appearance" of one already established across the road.

Meanwhile, there is a large task in renovating the old state bank premises. Deutsche Bank is peeling off the Staatsschulden signs to uncover its own pre-war logo on buildings that do not look as if they have been attended to since. And conditions are cramped even in the windswept portcullis premises of the Kreditbank — Dresden Bank and the regional office of the Bundesbank (central bank) are for instance confusingly sharing

the same premises, including entrance, in the centre of Leipzig.

Personnel management is another large challenge. West German staff often live in poor hotels or rent a room from struggling east German families, and put in some 14 hours a day.

"This is a major concern of ours," says Mr Dietrich Köhlhoff, a managing board director of Bayerische Vereinsbank. "While we have been surprised at the general willingness to make sacrifices, we know at least some of our staff, separated from their families, will want to come back. We hope to achieve a smooth overlap with east Germans we are training up."

Many, particularly the younger officers with vastly greater exposure than they could hope for in the west, are infectious excited at operating in an environment where they see a single bank credit saving hundreds of jobs.

Deutsche Bank by contrast, has expanded staff on the parent bank's payroll by 20 per cent with virtually unskilled labour — the state bank handled no private customers at all, and the regimented dealings on the corporate side bore no relation to western-style banking.

As well as retraining its new employees it has the far more delicate task of persuading them that their jobs are secure — if indeed that is the case — in what are grossly overmanned conditions.

Still, the kind of entries secured by the two biggest banks has irritated their competitors.

Mr Walter Seipp, chief execu-

utive of Commerzbank, outlined in July at the chaotic

distortions: "We come as a complete newcomer. We have been cases where our names have been threatened with having their credits terminated if they go to another bank."

Only his interventions

had ensured that certain banks were included in short-term state-guaranteed liquidity credits that have constituted the bulk of the lending business since currency union.

All the banks are operat-

ing almost in the dark when

comes to non-guarantees.

loans, particularly to the big companies. The first balance sheets are only now being laboriously assembled, and information from the Treuhand has hitherto been completely inadequate.

Small business start-ups have been easier to deal with.

Mr Mayer says that between 50 and 75 per cent of applications have been approved, although he adds that in coming months, where the recently unemployed are turning to a new business as other avenues close, the bank may be more wary.

While the credits are themselves often for enterprises no bank would finance in the west — such as a caravan selling smacks, not a hopeless venture in this undercapitalised area — much is controlled from head office.

"I have a quarter of the competence I had before," says Mr Mayer.

Katherine Campbell
Frankfurt

Banking opportunities in the east

A market for the bold and the brave

the same premises, including entrance, in the centre of Leipzig.

Personnel management is another large challenge. West German staff often live in poor hotels or rent a room from struggling east German families, and put in some 14 hours a day.

"This is a major concern of ours," says Mr Dietrich Köhlhoff, a managing board director of Bayerische Vereinsbank. "While we have been surprised at the general willingness to make sacrifices, we know at least some of our staff, separated from their families, will want to come back. We hope to achieve a smooth overlap with east Germans we are training up."

Many, particularly the younger officers with vastly greater exposure than they could hope for in the west, are infectious excited at operating in an environment where they see a single bank credit saving hundreds of jobs.

Deutsche Bank by contrast, has expanded staff on the parent bank's payroll by 20 per cent with virtually unskilled labour — the state bank handled no private customers at all, and the regimented dealings on the corporate side bore no relation to western-style banking.

As well as retraining its new employees it has the far more delicate task of persuading them that their jobs are secure — if indeed that is the case — in what are grossly overmanned conditions.

Still, the kind of entries secured by the two biggest banks has irritated their competitors.

Mr Walter Seipp, chief execu-

ONE DAY SEMINAR: STARTING BUSINESS IN GERMANY

The German Chamber of Industry and Commerce is planning a one day seminar sponsored by the Economic Development Corporation North Rhine-Westphalia on November 21 to be held at the Hyde Park Hotel, London.

The seminar is primarily designed for the directors, managers and advisers of British firms which have probably already been exporting products to Germany but now plan to establish some sort of permanent presence in Germany.

The topics dealt with by the seven speakers will cover the economic, legal, tax and financial aspects of starting a business in Germany, and the local question.

Cost of the seminar: £190 plus VAT (for members of the German Chamber) and £190 plus VAT (for non-members of the German Chamber). The full programme and application forms are available from the Legal Department, German Chamber of Commerce, 12/13 Suffolk Street, London SW1Y 4HG. Tel: 071-830 7251, ext 228, Fax: 071-830 7256.

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الآن افتح الباب

GERMANY 13

PROFILE: Klaus Töpfer

A time for action

ONE way that Mr Klaus Töpfer, the German Environment Minister, can measure his ministerial efforts is to glance at companies' promotional campaigns. "Look at the advertisements," he says. "‘Oho, Bio, Natur - they're the best things' - that's the argument."

The propensity of German business to use environmental friendliness as a guarantee to consumers' hearts is just one sign of the interplay between the economy and the ecology.

Mr Töpfer, a compact Christian Democrat professor from Silesia who mixes quiet authority with the appropriate dose of good humour, is at the centre of a cluster of competing interests. He has to fulfill the requirements of protecting nature and at least half-way satisfying German Greens. And he must struggle to avoid the alienation of German industrialists, on whose co-operation he depends. Asked if he is reasonably pleased with his work since he took over the job in May 1987, he says: "An Environment Minister in a thickly populated industrial country should never be satisfied - and never be."

Mr Töpfer's weight in the Bonn cabinet seems, however, to have grown lately. He is pleased that other ministries ranging from Development to Education are now building in environmental programmes as a matter of course.

In June he pushed through government agreement - against some misgivings from the Economics Ministry - to bring in a "carbon tax" on energy as part of a drive to reduce Germany's per head output of carbon dioxide by 25 per cent by the year 2005. At present, Germany's rate of annual emission of the gas - blamed for the greenhouse effect - is one of the world's highest: 11 tonnes a head for west Germany, 22 tonnes (the world record) for the east.

"This is one area where we very well know that our job is not to criticise others, but to act," Mr Töpfer says. A detailed plan is due to be unveiled next month.

He points to a string of legislative initiatives to create what he calls "a better safety culture" in industry, as well as more stringent measures to improve air and water pollution and to cut waste.

Mr Töpfer confides that, in his daily postbag, ozone depletion has been replaced as the main focus of citizens' concern by complaints about packing material and other drags of the "throw away society".



Klaus Töpfer: putting together a DM300m "action programme"

Mr Töpfer has to push forward within the EC the goal of harmonising environmental regulations. This is not so much in the interest of international understanding, but far more to prevent the drift of corporate investment to less stringently policed areas. After a long-standing row within the Community over German proposals to use differential taxation to encourage catalytic converters in cars, most EC environment ministers now seem to favour this approach.

Concerning the use of incentives to boost environment-friendly technology, Mr Töpfer says that at the EC environment ministers' meeting in Rome last month: "We were all of one opinion. This sort of tax measure is finding more and more support."

Mr Töpfer points out that the Europe of the Twelve represents just one part of the overall "European environmental community". As a result of the breakdown of east-west barriers, the EC has a real chance of helping to patch up what he calls the "ecological rift" in the east.

Since October 8, Mr Töpfer himself has been responsible for a number of these ruined German unity brings "qualitative and quantitative a new dimension," says Mr Töpfer. "We have to deal with the terrible legacy of socialism. This was ruthless exploitation of health and nature."

Mr Töpfer's Ministry is putting together a DM300m "action programme" for the rest of the year to tackle some of the most pressing environmental tasks in east Germany. He says one of the most important areas concerns the cleaning up of industrial sites in east Germany. Another headache comes from polluting lignite-fired power stations.

Other priorities are establishment of up-to-date water treatment and sewage facilities and provision of district heating to compensate for the

David March

The old traffic in refuse is proving an expensive mistake, writes Günter Kowa

Pollution nightmare

already turned forests into moonscapes in the neighbourhood of East German industrial compounds.

But the outdated industrial production methods were not the only factors in the ecological apocalypse. Production and consumption of energy was just as wasteful and dirty and relied heavily on lignite.

Germany's efficiency was low, and conservation measures were disengaged, not least due to artificially low fuel and electricity prices. Agriculture was turned into an industrial process with field clearances (which caused erosion) and the ruthless application of agro-chemicals, while livestock rearing reached 200,000 and more units at some intensive farms which had to dispose of enormous quantities of untreated liquid manure.

The East German transport system suffered from chronic under-investment, but in some senses was more environmentally sound than in the west. The rail network was closely knit and carried four fifths of goods transported, albeit at a small pace. The railways and other forms of public transport accounted for more than 40 per cent of passenger journeys, against 16 per cent in West Germany. East German cars were notorious pollutants - especially in lead emissions - and the factories which produced them are being closed.

With the arrival of western life styles comes a refuse mountain which is far bigger than that which used to be imported, and for which proper deposits and treatment plants are simply not available. The previously efficient system of recycling what used to be called "secondary raw materials" has ground to a halt. East Germans have shed their ingrained habit of preserving every remotely useable object - and are adopting a throw-away mentality which the west is only just beginning to learn to overcome.

Leipzig, which contributed more than 60 per cent of the total East German emissions of sulphur dioxide and 53 per cent of dust (1988 figures). The atrocious consequences of the carbo-chemical industry are plain to see at Bitterfeld, which has been called the most deadly place in Europe. In some plants working conditions were so unhealthy that production has now been halted, saving emissions of 300 tons of fluoride, 4,800 tons of carbon monoxide and 500 tons of dust annually at one aluminium plant alone, and more than 7,500 tons of sulphurous emissions at a viscose plant, built in the 1930s. At Buna, most of the carbide furnaces are now shut down, eliminating massive dust and sulphur dioxide emissions.

This is the beginning of the end of east German carbide production, which was further processed into acetyl as a prerequisite for plastics. The carbide furnaces consumed no

Bitterfeld: a deadly illustration of the atrocious consequences of the carbo-chemical industry

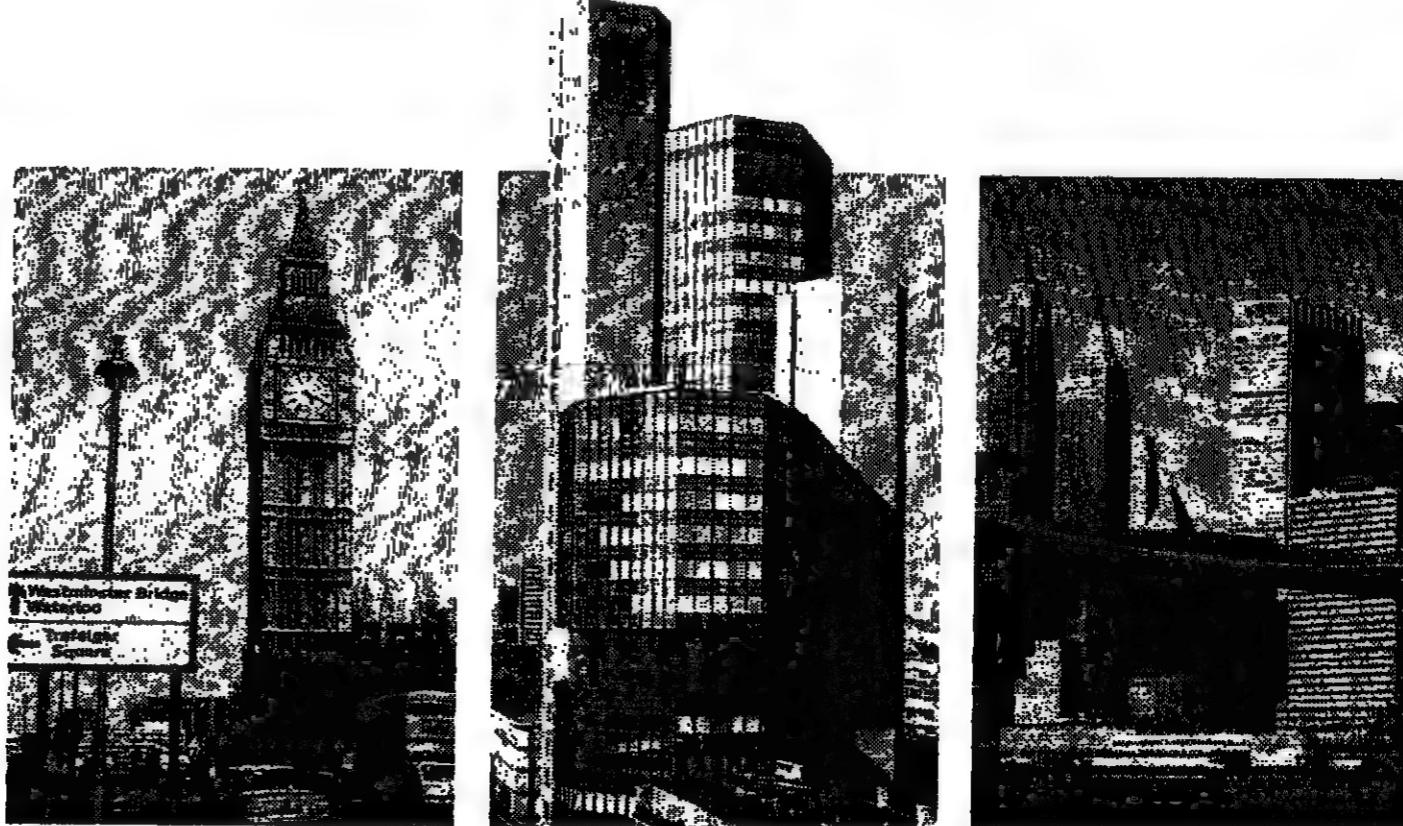
East Germany's environmental malaise is bound up closely with economic history. Near total isolation led to industrial development completely at odds with progress in the west. The most significant distortions occurred in the chemical industry. Western style petro-chemical production could never establish itself in the east due to the prohibitive costs of oil imports: production of plastics, tar and even petrol was instead based on the processing of coal, in particular lignite, which was quarried in huge open cast mines. Not only did this lead to the destruction of wide areas of countryside, but the industrial processing was in itself wasteful and inefficient due to hopelessly outdated machinery, which instead of being written off and renewed was kept going by constant repair, which tied up a large part of the workforce.

The chemical industry was concentrated in the south in the region between Halle and

less than 12 per cent (35 tons) of the lignite mined in the open cast mines.

With the demise of the old power structure, previously top secret files on environmental matters became public knowledge. Indeed, such studies have begun to chart the mounting ecological pressure since the 1950s but had been hushed up. In the early 1980s Erich Honecker was reported in the East German press as having remarked: "There is no such thing as acid rain in the German Democratic Republic."

Now it has become possible for scientists from east and west to meet and exchange data, as for example in a recent symposium organised jointly by the universities of Heidelberg and Jens. The phenomenon of "Waldsterben", the gradual destruction of forests, was discussed by biologists long before it was a serious problem in the west - not least because high contamination in soils and plants had

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PROFILE: Davy McKee

Clean-up specialists

Mr Klaus Comper

group turnover of £1.8bn for 1990-91, that is 50 per cent more than in 1989-90.

The new economic situation in eastern Europe will require new investments, reasons Mr Comper. In July a DM35m contract was signed for a new polymer fibre plant in Czechoslovakia.

East Germany, where Zimmer built most of the man-made fibre plants more than 15 years ago, is different. Little has changed since then, as the east Germans did not have the money for newer technology. To win orders there now, Mr Comper's salesmen serve as middlemen, bringing potential western partners together with the fibre producers.

Nothing will happen before the first quarter of 1991, predicts Mr Comper. The east German factories will need accounts to establish a balance sheet. Legislation to clarify who owns what is also urgently needed.

There are about five man-made fibre plants in east Germany which could be modernised, suggests Mr Comper. It would cost between DM35m and DM100m a plant, depending on the final product. "If you want very fine filaments, such as for ladies' stockings, then you need a lot more machinery than for tire cord," Mr Comper explains.

Another means of easing into the new markets is to join forces with an east German company. Davy McKee signed a letter of intent to co-operate with a Leipzig engineering firm, the former VEB Ingenieurbetrieb Ankersbau. Not only do the east Germans have qualified engineers, they also have good client relations with major customers such as the east German chemical industry.

Either a licensing agreement or joint venture could grow out of the initial contract. But one thing is certain: "Compensation trade is all over now. It's all D-mark," says Mr Comper.

That alone is enough to make eastern Germany the most interesting of the new markets in eastern Europe.

Dennis Phillips

Headquartered in Germany's financial capital, Helaba Frankfurt is a public-sector universal bank ranking among Germany's foremost financial institutions with total assets of some DM 76 billion. It offers a broad range of commercial and investment banking facilities as well as brokerage and investment advisory services.

Concentrating on wholesale banking, especially in the medium to long-term sector, Helaba Frankfurt tailors its comprehensive services for large corporations, central banks, government entities, and other financial institutions. Foreign exchange dealing, trade finance, and activities in the DM bond market are typical strengths of the Bank. Moreover, Helaba Frankfurt acts as banker to the State of Hesse. Funding is facilitated through issuing its own notes and bonds. The total outstanding is about DM 31 billion.

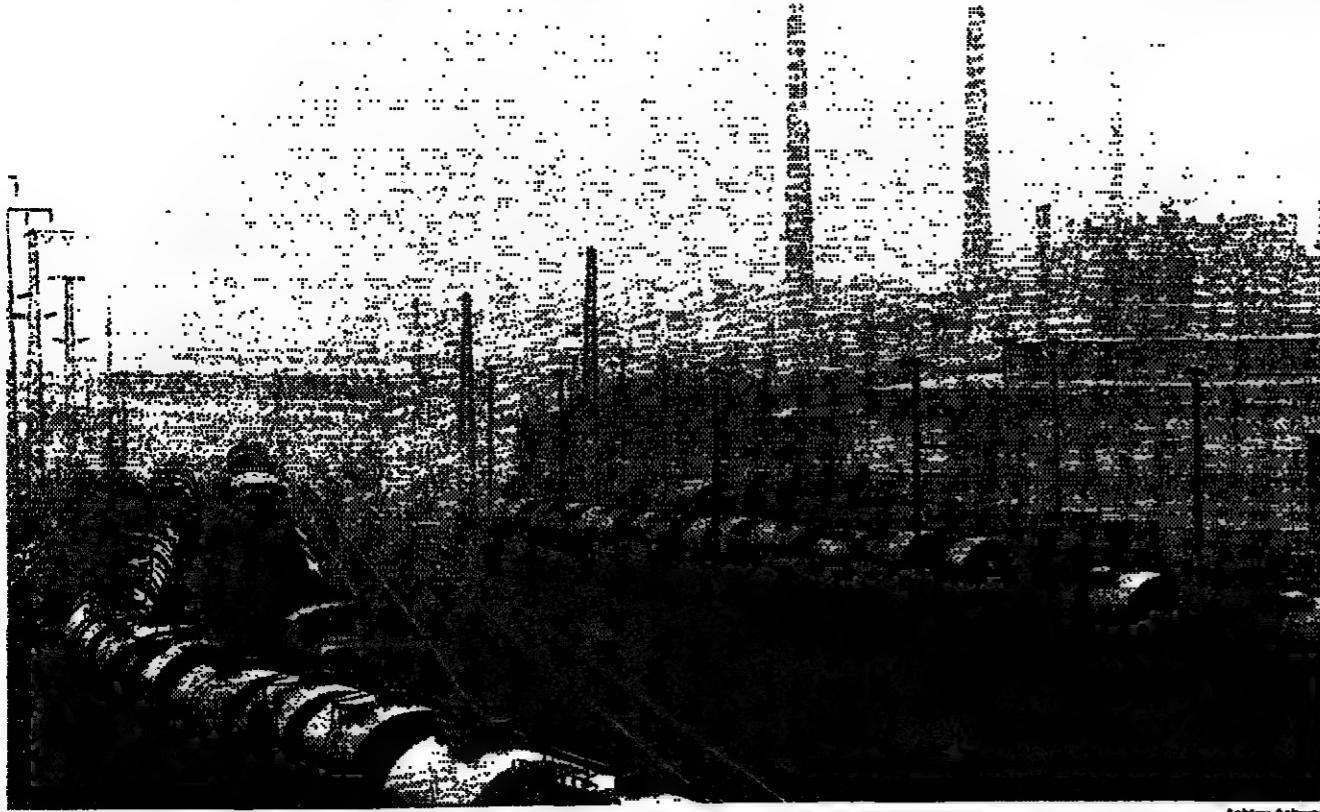
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The giant desulphurisation plants, larger than the power stations, cost 20 per cent more initially than a competing gypsum-based process.

GERMANY 14



The railway yards in Leipzig

Deficiencies in the east's infrastructure are acute in transport

Bridging the investment gap

JOINING the two Germanys is easier said than done, both physically and mentally. Unification is only the start.

The task of elevating the eastern part of the country to the living standards of the west is enormous; there is a large gap in living standards and the east's industrial structure has been worn down by years of inflexible central planning. Part of the process will involve a complete overhaul of the infrastructure. It will take a decade or more and cost hundreds of billions of D-Marks.

There are deficiencies in every part of the east's infrastructure - in transport, energy, telecommunications and the environment. Until work gets under way on putting these right, east Germany's 15m people cannot hope to close the gap with the west. But it is not just a question of modernising existing systems. Much of the old must be swept away before the new can be introduced.

That is particularly true in transport, where opening the border a year ago led to immediate changes. Special trains were put on to take east Germans to the previously forbidding west. Hordes of Trabant and Wartburg cars crossed over, as their drivers made use of their new freedom to go where they wished.

But now the jubilation has faded, practical problems have to be dealt with. The railway system taken over from east Germany is out-of-date, overburdened, and unreliable; many of the roads need repair and the motorway network is wholly inadequate; airports are far below the standards of the west, as is the fleet of Interflug, the former East German airline.

In the skies, Lufthansa, now the national carrier for the whole country and not just

west Germany, will obviously play the main role. But foreign airlines are keen to become involved, with Berlin to become a big international communications hub. The new capital city will thus require an expensive new airport.

It is on the ground, however, that really big sums will be spent.

The rail and road systems in eastern Germany are estimated to require total investments of at least DM300bn over the next 10 years, a figure roughly split between the two. The funds will mostly have to be found by the government, to a large extent through the capital market.

The task of elevating the eastern part of the country to the living standards of the west is enormous

lest, although ways of attracting direct private sector investment are being discussed.

What needs to be done? Repairs must be carried out on eastern Germany's roads - many still surfaced with paving stones which make for a bone-shaking ride - on bridges, railway tracks and stations. But at the same time, plans have to be made for the future.

In the former east Germany, says Mr Eberhard von Koerber, chief executive of the German unit of Asea Brown Boveri (ABB), the Swedish-Swiss engineering group, "we have a unique opportunity to create a forward-looking transport infrastructure. It is an opportunity we must not allow to slip away."

ABB is one of the companies, like Siemens and AEG (part of Daimler-Benz), which hope to benefit from the reshaping of the transport system in Germany's east. A study for the Economics Ministry in Bonn

estimated that by 2010, total transport between east and west would show a near seven-fold increase, while that between north and south would go down by 12 per cent.

Passenger traffic between west and east Germany should show an eightfold jump. For freight traffic, the study calculated a tenfold rise.

We have to think of a joint future - from the Saar (the river bordering on France) to the Oder (next to Poland)," says Mr Peter Waldinger, a manager at the Bundesbahn (the west German railway system) involved in co-operation with the east's Reichsbahn.

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For a time, the two systems will continue to run separately to ease the transition.

It's not just a question of renewing what is there now, but of taking a view on what the market will look like at the end of the century," he adds. In the past, both railways were mainly north-south oriented. Now, the emphasis will also have to be between east and west.

The economically important areas of former east Germany, including Leipzig, Halle, Dresden and Chemnitz, must be linked more effectively with such western regions as North Rhine-Westphalia (including the Ruhr), the Rhine-Main area centred on Frankfurt and southern cities such as Munich, Stuttgart and Nuremberg. Berlin also needs better links with Hamburg and Hanover.

A start has been made on building and improving these connections.

But overcoming the legacy of

the old east Berlin regime will be back-breaking. Like much of east German industry, the railways never received enough funds for investment. Their level of electrification was far lower than in west Germany, while much of the system was single track only. Vital maintenance was neglected, so that much of the track, sleepers, bridges and stations is in acute disrepair.

The Reichsbahn was also forced to take on a much heavier freight burden than it could bear.

After the 1970s oil crises, the government decreed that most freight should go by rail, to save on energy. A third of the freight consisted of brown coal, the basis of the country's heavily polluting energy system. The result was that 75 per cent of all goods traffic went by rail against only 22 per cent in west Germany.

That imbalance is being righted as western goods pour into eastern Germany, mostly by road. But the main traffic arteries in the east are quickly becoming congested.

On a bad day, it can take more than eight hours to reach Leipzig, in Saxony, from Frankfurt in the west; normally, it should take five.

The town centre of Magdeburg is a nightmare to drive around, with its rutted streets, families which do not lie flush with the surface and extensive road-up sections with no diversion routes marked.

In time, this will change. If most of the all-German economy is to be a success. But new transport systems cannot be put in overnight. Rebuilding the infrastructure, including road and rail links, will be a monumental task.

Andrew Fisher, Berlin

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GERMANY 15

THE EXECUTIVES in west Germany's chemicals industry, the biggest in western Europe, are contemplating the future for a reunified Germany, are wrestling with a battle which concerns their hearts and their heads.

Their hearts tell them that they ought to get involved with re-equipping and re-emerging the east German chemicals industry, many components of which used to be associated with large west German chemicals groups such as BASF, Bayer and Hoechst. These are the so-called Big Three, the world's three largest chemicals groups.

The heads of the executives tell them a different story. The east German industry, though large in output terms, is well behind much of the chemicals business in terms of production technology and approach to pollution problems.

East Germany's chemicals business, the eighth biggest in the world and the second largest in eastern Europe after that of the USSR, has lacked anything approaching the kind of marketing-based style seen in western chemicals groups.

For decades, managers in the east German industry have been used to fulfilling production quotas from government ministries. Revenues from sales to other countries have come largely in soft currency arising from government trading agreements.

"The east German industry is not really geared to going anywhere," says one west German executive. "With one or two exceptions, we would be mad to invest in it."

The east German chemicals business employs 300,000 people and in 1988 had sales of about DM100bn (at the new exchange rate introduced earlier this year.)

That compares to the total output of the west German industry in 1988 of DM160bn, and employment of 580,000. Comparisons, however, should not be taken too far because of the different product mix of the two countries' industries and the fact that until recently east German markets were worth far less than the D-Mark.

In the past few years, the West German chemicals industry, the Big Three in particular, have recorded impressive growth. They have expanded especially fast in the US and other parts of Europe.

The companies have directed, to some effect, more research resources into higher-value, low-volume areas of chemicals such as agrochemicals, drugs and specialty types



Schwarzeheide plant in east Germany: acquired by BASF

CHEMICALS

A difficult transition

of industrial materials like polyurethanes. These areas – in contrast to bulk areas of chemicals such as commodity plastics – are generally reckoned to have higher growth prospects over the long term.

Although profits growth in the Big Three has declined in the past few months – in line with the slowdown in much of the rest of the world chemicals industry – the companies are thought to be in a good position to build up strength during the rest of the decade.

Other non-German companies including Belgium's Solvay and Akzo of the Netherlands owned other chunks of the east German industry before the war.

The degree to which these companies want to reinvoke themselves with their former states – and in general their interest has so far been lukewarm – will be an important factor determining how the east German industry shapes up.

In the latest twist to the story of government-inspired changes in 20th century German chemicals industry, the Kombinate were reincorporated in July to form ordinary limited companies, albeit still state-owned.

Almost overnight, managers were urged to take on western entrepreneurial-type attitudes and cast off the dogmas of state planning.

Just how difficult it will be to push through the transition is evident by the details of one of the large former chemicals

plants in what became east Germany were taken over by the new commun-

although there have been discussions about marketing and technical joint ventures.

For example, Chemische Werke Buna, the east German plastics and rubber combine, is negotiating an agreement to form a 50-50 joint venture with Henkel, has agreed a technical co-operation with east German's leading dyes combine Wacker, Genthin; and Hoechst has signed a similar agreement with Lacuna, a leading paint producer.

Many West German companies are reluctant to take over ownership of east German assets for fear of unknown, long-term environmental liabilities.

The one concrete example of a west German company that has acquired an existing east German chemicals plant is BASF, which this month agreed to purchase the east German polyurethanes combine Schwarzeheide.

BASF has reached an accord with the German government effectively freezing it from compensation on the site and pollution in neighbouring towns.

Says the Schwarzeheide plant is one of the better run east German chemicals sites. Roughly four-fifths of its output is in polyurethanes, and much of the production technology at the site dates from the 1970s, making it more modern than most other east German chemicals complexes.

Moreover, the output from the plant would blend in with BASF's own operations. The west Germany company is – with Bayer, Dow Chemical of the US and Britain's Imperial Chemical Industries – one of the top four west European polyurethane producers.

Extra production from Schwarzeheide would give BASF's business useful fillip. "The plant would fit in very well with the whole of our European operations," says a BASF executive. BASF, it seems, is destined not having its heart overseas its head.

Another rare company interested in a chemicals production venture in east Germany has come from Solvay, Belgium's biggest chemicals group.

The world's largest maker of soda ash, a material mostly used in the glass industry, it wants to reclaim its big soda ash plant at Bernburg, which Hitler annexed in 1939.

Solvay says the plant has a future and is willing to invest in it.

Peter Marsh

PROFILE: Former East German factory owner

Prepared to wait



Walter Marx: wonders whether the time is right

Marx of the closely supervised sales trip abroad.

The prices for his furniture were set by the foreign trade ministry, which was anxious to collect hard currency. At its best, export prices covered about half the furniture's production cost, says Mr Marx.

Mr Wilhelm Schranz, 56, is director of the ex-Marx furniture factory now. He has worked there since coming to the Thuringer forest town at the end of the war. At the moment, the factory depends on government credits to stay in business.

"Looked at from a business standpoint, we would go bankrupt," admits Mr Schranz.

"But this is a national problem and it requires a political solution. Otherwise, half of the country will be unemployed." Production costs at the factory are still at least 40 per cent higher than revenue, he admits.

Walking through the factory his family once owned, Mr Marx points out changes that are needed in machinery and production planning. He estimates he can use about 50 of the 120 workers now employed by the factory. "With the contracts they signed with the West, the only thing they're producing now is new debts," says Mr Marx.

He thinks the factory should stop production rather than continue to fulfil loss-making contracts with West Germany's large catalogue sales groups, including Quelle and Otto.

"They're all getting subsidies up to the first election. Then the bell will toll," predicts Mr Marx.

He applied in March to get his furniture factory back again. But the East German bureaucrats are less than helpful. "In all the offices with which I deal, the same apparatus are still there who took everything in 1973," says Mr Marx. "They'll have to go."

He offered DM500,000 for his old factory, and expects to invest another DM2m to modernise it. But the East German officials rejected his offer.

"I'll wait. When they go bankrupt, then I hope I can buy it," says Mr Marx, a glimmer in his eye. Obviously, he would like nothing better.

Dennis Phillips



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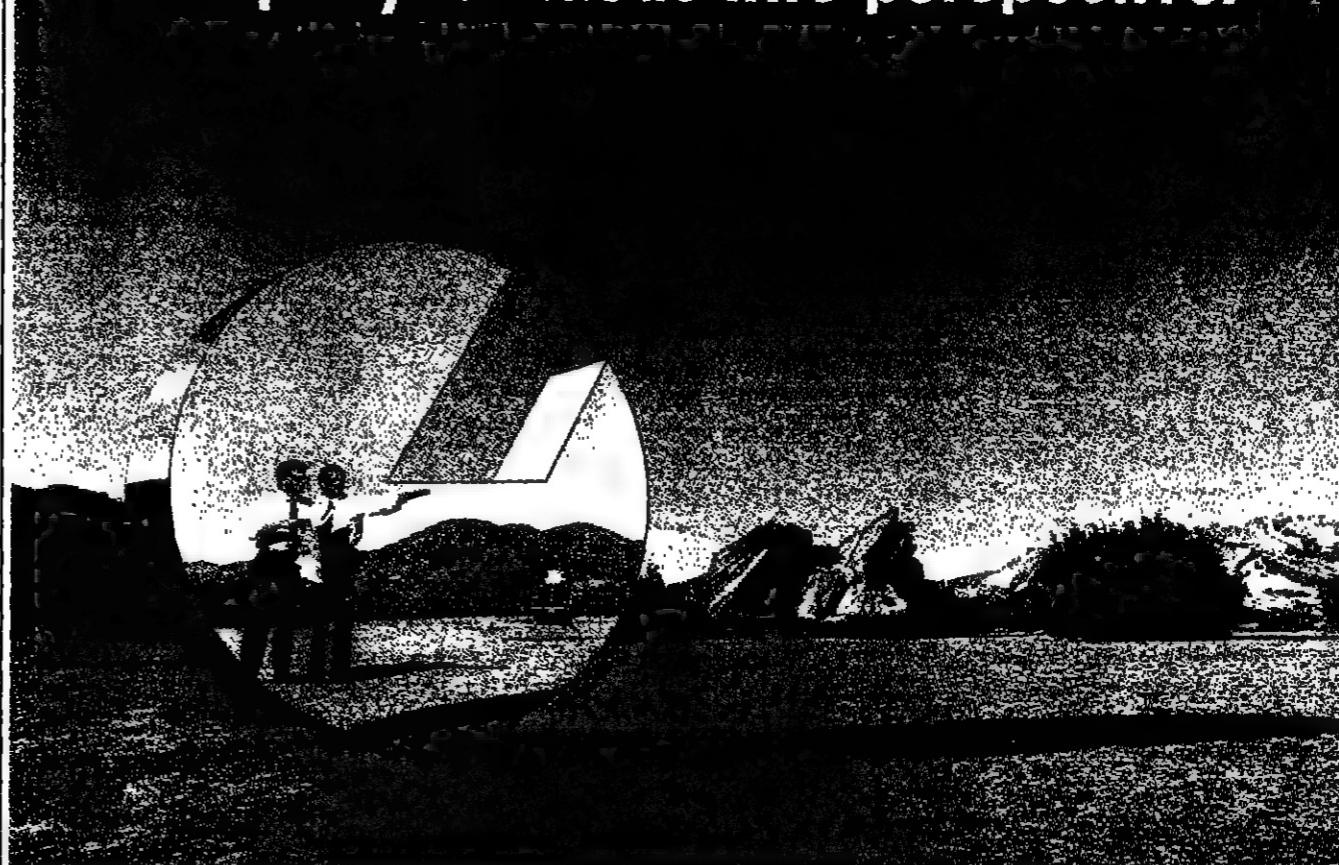
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DG BANK

GERMANY 16

Older Germans remember an era when

Times were harder

AFTER the turbulent run-up to unity, with frail East Germany falling into the arms of prosperous West Germany, it is hard to recall a time when both sides were equally desperate. But in the late 1940s, life was a struggle all over Germany. The scars of war were still vivid and the economic miracle in West Germany was some way off. Those who were children then have powerful memories of war's aftermath in a defeated country.

The three Dümbelefeld sisters, Erika, Ingeborg, and Renate, grew up with their brother Karl in Bavaria. In the early post-war years, there was never much food on the table, they were never quite near starving. Bread and potatoes, hard as they were to come by, were the staple foods.

Refugees streamed over from the east. Many were herded together in overcrowded barracks near where Karl and the girls lived with their parents, in two cramped attic rooms in a big house near Munich. "It was always dark," remembers Erika. "That's why we all have to wear glasses."

When the war ended, Erika was 1, Inge 3, and Renate 5. They had been lucky to survive. Inge has a mark on her forehead from a bombing raid which sent the family down to the cellar when their Munich flat was destroyed in 1944. The children and their mother had to be dug out. With their possessions destroyed, they went into a tiny room by Lake Kochel to the south. It was there that Renate nearly drowned when she slipped under a wooden beam that had floated down from a bombed bridge.

Erika, at school in Berchtesgaden, ran away to be with her family, thumbing lifts riding on military trucks, and once, when allied bombers were in the area, diving for safety into a ditch with the soldiers.

Today, four decades later, the sisters live in a country which forms a stark contrast with the post-war privations, and can talk about their experiences without resentment.

Renate is the wife of this correspondent and living near Frankfurt, while Inge Brandl and Erika Glas are still in Munich, where their grown-up children also live.

Munich today is one of Germany's most attractive cities, home to thriving companies like BMW and Siemens.

Because it was restored slowly after the war, it has preserved its charm. But in the 1940s, its wide streets were lined with the gaping facades of once-elegant buildings. The Frauenkirche (cathedral) stood as a bleak memorial to the horrors of war, its twin towers undamaged above the rubble.

The city was a magnet for the dispossessed, seeking to rebuild their lives in the American zone. Inge recalls what it was like being a Bavarian in school, when the teachers and most of the children in the upper class were from the east.

"We were made to feel like outsiders. We were treated dreadfully and beaten if we spoke in Bavarian dialect."

Being left-handed, little Renate was often rapped on the knuckles. She has fearsome



A sad irony: ruined Dresden and a statue of Martin Luther

memories of her first two years at school, being terrorised by one teacher who clearly disliked any pupils who had not had to make the harsh trek from east.

All three sisters have sharp memories of post-war Christmases. Inge tells what it was like to feel discriminated against for having suffered less than others. "We did a Christmas play and I was an angel. Our mother had sewn me a long white dress and I had golden wings of papier-mâché. After the play, American food packets were distributed. We lined up and then one of the teachers pulled us out by our collars and said they weren't for us. We stood there and cried – after all, we had as little as the others, having lost our things in the bombing. Someone gave us some leftover chocolates and biscuits. But it wasn't the same."

At home, the atmosphere was jollier. Usually, the weekly treat was a few measured out slices of sausage. Inge fond of meat, says her birthday wish was to have one piece of sausage for herself. On Christmas Day, the meal was rabbit, reared by their grandfather and thus not requiring scarce coupons. "We couldn't eat the rabbit," says Inge. "We had helped feed them with dandelions and clover."

Father, back from the war in Italy, spent months in a garden shed making toys. One was a shop counter with drawers and scales and big enough to sit behind. Their Christmas tree, from the nearby woods, was draped with strips of silvery foil cut from wide pieces found in nearby fields; aircraft had used them to avoid radar detection.

Rudolf, their father, was an electrician in the large BMW nearby plant (no longer owned by the company). Fortunately, both parents were ingenious.

Katharina Dümbelefeld sewed skillfully, able to make and alter clothes to fit the children out of almost any material to hand. From his workshop, Rudolf, smuggled nuts, nails, he also made furniture and a metal part which she used to flatten their occasional pieces of meat so they would go further.

The family first noticed a real change for the better, when they moved into a flat in Munich in 1957. It had a proper bathroom and kitchen and more space. Televisions and washing machines began to appear in households and West Germans began holidaying abroad. That was when the gap between the Germans really started to open up.

Andrew Fisher

THE CONTOURS of the future Berlin are taking shape and the city again has a raw, unfinished quality which distinguishes it from older European cities. It is not difficult to foresee that in 10 years' time Berlin-Mitte, the pre-war heart of Berlin east of the Brandenburg Gate, will pulsate with life as it did before the war.

West Berlin's aged population is expected to undergo a rejuvenation and, together with east Berlin, is forecast to rise from the present 3.3m inhabitants and attain the city's pre-war population of 4m by the year 2010. The greater Berlin region, an area with 4.3m people residing within a 60-km radius of the centre of Berlin, could regain its pre-war population of 5m.

Meanwhile, the contrast is even sharper than before the Wall came down between broadening east Berlin – with soaring unemployment, rutted streets and unfinished prestige buildings of the previous regime along Friedrichstrasse and the optimism of west Berlin. Consumption per capita in the west is DM9,000, twice as high as in the east, where the freshly-unemployed from the former GDR ministries and state companies will further depress spending power.

West Berlin economics officials warn that if new jobs are not created and the large gap between earnings in east and west is not narrowed, hard-pressed easterners will flood into west Berlin to seek employment. Nearly 100,000 of them are estimated already to have already work in the city, and a further large influx would lead to fierce competition for the jobs normally held by Turkish migrants. Relations between east Berliners and the 130,000 west Berlin Turks are already tense, with the easterners frequently blaming the Turks for their problems.

Forecasts, however, speak of the first signs of an economic recovery in the east next spring when west German companies begin to move in to erect new offices and renovate old buildings. Bertelsmann, the giant German publishing house, and WestLB this month signalled their intention to erect a large media centre and shopping mall at the corner of Friedrichstrasse and Leipzigerstrasse near the city's pre-war publishing district.

A YEAR ago Dr Clemens Thürmann, 41, was a middle-ranking official in a small research institute attached to the East German Building Ministry. He lived quietly with his wife and son in a sleepy suburb of East Berlin.

Today he is one of the most important men in Berlin and stands with his wife and son at all. He is the Stadtrat in East Berlin, with overall responsibility for transport, housing and planning, and a key man in fitting together the two sides of the city.

The bear-like, rather dishevelled, Mr Thürmann belonged to the suppressed meritocracy of the former East Germany. He had always refused to join the Communist Party and thus, despite his talents as a statistician, could not rise above a certain level in his institute, could not travel abroad and earned no more than an average worker (about 1,200 East Marks a month).

Now he earns about five times as much but has no time to spend his money on travel, except on business. "I work between 12 and 16 hours a

day, communicating with my wife, only through notes on the kitchen table during the week. If I'm lucky, I have one day off at the weekend," he says.

Mr Thürmann is a politician, a Social Democrat, as well as a city planner, and has to spend much of his day in meetings of East Berlin's ruling SPD faction or party committee. "I now understand why people call democracy the worst form of government except for all the others, it is so inefficient," he complains.

Has he changed? "Yes, a bit. I was always quite self-sufficient; now I know more. I've lost touch with some friends but made some new ones. And I suppose I've developed political elbows," he says.

He agrees that the stress and care of finding everyday absorbing jobs than helping to build the city. Most of the time, he says, everyday concerns cause one to lose sight of the historic dimension, but sometimes it floods in.

How is Berlin growing together? "Not without difficulties, of course, but it is happening quickly. We were thinking in all-Berlin terms before the west Berliners, they were actually a bit more cautious than we were, we have everything to gain and they have quite a lot to lose, at least in straight financial terms," he says.

East Berlin, which first acquired a democratic city government in May, has received a central government grant of DM3.3bn for the second half of the current year.

Private capital is starting to flow into the eastern side of the city – he says DM1bn has

already been invested and DM2.5bn to DM3bn in the pipeline – but very little of it



Rejuvenating the pre-war Berlin

A balancing act

Berlin's sale to Daimler-Benz of a prime slice of Potsdamer Platz, the former wasteland bisected by the Wall, is also expected to attract investments to the city by other companies, despite the controversy surrounding the highly favourable terms of purchase. Daimler-Benz plans to erect a 70,000 sq m service centre employing 3,000 people on part of the vast square which is to link east and west Berlin.

But securing jobs in the public sector and providing incentives for investments in east Berlin will require even more financial aid from Bonn than the DM9.2bn provided this year alone for west Berlin. Another DM3.2bn was given in direct subsidies, fully half of which was claimed by Bonn. The ending of Berlin's geopolitical isolation has put pressure on the city government to reduce west Berlin's reliance on Bonn while subsidies are shifted to east Berlin and surroundings.

Berlin's city government under Mr Walter Momper, the popular Social Democratic (SPD) governing mayor, proposed that Bonn lower its subsidies to west Berlin over a period of seven years beginning in 1993. While Chancellor Kohl appeared to agree to this formula, spokesmen for the governing coalition and the SPD in the Bundestag said the tax benefits for west Berlin-based companies and employers should be reduced starting next January. This produced an outcry in Berlin where Mr Momper accused Bonn of aiming to turn the city into a "piggy bank for unity".

West Berlin's German Institute of Economic Research (DIW) recommended that in light of the unification of Berlin and its promising economic future, subsidies to invest in old buildings, Bertelsmann, the giant German publishing house, and WestLB this month signalled their intention to erect a large media centre and shopping mall at the corner of Friedrichstrasse and Leipzigerstrasse near the city's pre-war publishing district.

DIW proposed that tax benefits

Memorabilia at the Brandenburg Gate

and Berlin bonuses for employees be lowered over a period of seven years starting in 1991. It was also proposed that part of the money saved could go toward eliminating the economic gap between east and west in the Berlin area.

Economic and political tensions between Bonn and Berlin, a recurring theme over the past four decades, have peaked

in the tug-of-war over whether to keep the seat of government in Bonn or move it to the German capital. If the newly-elected parliament that emerges from the elections in December fails to support Berlin as the seat of government, it is likely to further damage the east Berliners, nearly 20,000 of whom lost jobs with the former East German government. The friction between historically Protestant Berlin on Germany's eastern rim and far-flung Bonn in the Catholic Rhine land is almost certain to increase as the financial demands of unification grow.

But the city's longer-term growth prospects are set unlikely to be impeded even if the Bundestag and the chancellor fail to move to the German capital. Berlin's location astride the main road and rail links to the west from Warsaw and Moscow will make it an jumping-off point for Germany's trade with Poland and the Soviet Union.

Urban planners and environmentalists in Berlin are determined to avoid the mistakes of other large cities which are strangled by traffic and plagued with urban sprawl. The planners want to retain the countryside beyond the borders of Berlin – much of the surroundings are farmland, forest and lakes – and prevent a rampant suburbanisation of the city's environs. But villages and towns in the greater Berlin region are starved of funds and many are eager to sell public land to real estate developers from the west.

The Berlin regional planning authority set up this year also wants to discourage the use of cars in the city by reactivating and modernising the S-Bahn urban railway network built in the late 1950s which blankets Berlin and stretches well beyond the city limits. New communities outside the city are to be built parallel to the S-Bahn so that residents can commute more quickly by rail than by car. But modernising the S-Bahn will cost an estimated DM1.4bn and Bonn has signalled it wants the S-Bahn to be taken over by the city and not by the highly-distracted Bundesbahn (German Federal Railway) which operates regional S-Bahn systems in the west.

Leslie Cole

is manufacturing investment he complains.

Lack of property for new enterprises has been less of a problem in East Berlin than in some other big towns, at least in the public sector.

East Berlin has, however, generally been renting rather than selling land because of the uncertainty over value. "We don't want to sell land and then find it triples in value," he says. He adds that bids for property on East Berlin's grandest avenue, Unter den Linden, are now being made at a starting point of only DM7,000 in the centre of West Berlin.

East Berlin's biggest problem will be the unemployment created by closing down the huge ministries of the former East German state. Mr Thürmann reckons that about 250,000 bureaucrats will lose their jobs and not many will be soaked up by the new all-Berlin city administration. Perhaps he could split his job and see more of his family.

David Goodhart

PROFILE: Clemens Thürmann

Man of the moment



Dr Clemens Thürmann

day, communicating with my wife, only through notes on the kitchen table during the week. If I'm lucky, I have one day off at the weekend," he says.

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Gold mining mentality

ago. West German taxpayers, too, are aware that unity will cost more than was first imagined.

None the less, the people in the eastern part of Germany are taking everything with astound-

ing discipline. There have been strikes and demonstrations, but they have all been orderly. West German hooligans can do much greater damage. The east Germans are well-trained in apathy. Many, too, have a guilty con-

science. Without the complicity of many individuals, the old regime would never have lasted for so long.

Much of what is happening is somewhat banal. The old east German newspapers have died

out or are being bought up by western publishers. East Germans are buying west German cars, on credit, and are using them to kill more people on the roads. Supplies in the shops are less abundant than in west Germany, the prices are higher, and incomes are lower. There is a gold mining mentality in the air – but not everyone will discover gold.

Rolf Schneider,

an East German novelist



The Karl Marx monument in Leipzig: with the wave of anti-communist feeling there is some discussion over the statue's future.

HAMBURG IS MOVING UP.

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International Market for Financial and Investment Advice
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GERMANY 17

Getting to know Germany: exploring its coastline, discovering its mentality and its penchant for English words

Much still to be done

IT was my wife who noticed that the tall lights along the roadside were pointing the wrong way. We had just driven into Mecklenburg, one of the five new German states in the east. The remains of the fences erected at the winter's edge to stop cattle leaping were still visible through the barbed wire was gone.

On a strip of the Baltic Sea coast running close to the road, the lamps had a sinister double function. They did not overhang the street, but had been turned seawards to detect those guilty of attempting *Republikflucht* (flight from the republic), a crime under the Honecker regime.

A year ago, it would not have been possible to simply drive over from the west. From the start, it was clear that the weekend trip would not exactly be full of fun. The concrete fence posts and the reversed street lamps were a chilling reminder of how recently the old system was toppled.

Less startling, after previous trips eastwards was the depressing state of many buildings and the extent to which the towns' historical fabric had been allowed to decay. The northern part of east Germany does have its beauties. As we sped by fields and villages, it was easy to be lulled into a sense of longing for a time when life was less hectic and there was time to meander.

Lining many of the country roads - some in good repair, others hopelessly worn out - were arches of trees, their leaves brilliantly dined in the autumn sunlight. In spite of the increasing numbers of fast western cars, including second-hand models bought by people in the east, the roads were not too crowded.

Opposite the church, and separated from it by a tree-lined canal, is a row of old houses, ready to be renovated. It is not hard to imagine what the scene could look like once the work is completed.

In the main square is a pavilion-like building in Dutch renaissance style, into which spring water was piped to supply the town. This has been carefully restored, as has the steeply gabled Alte Schwede (old Swedes), Wismar's oldest church (built in 1380) and now a restaurant.

Wismar certainly has tourist potential. It is starting to be aware of this, but it will take several years and much money to make it a must for visitors.

The next town, Rostock, centre of the region's shipbuilding industry, was rather a disappointment. Its cathedral was closed and its main streets shabby. The town hall is impressive, with a Baroque front and a tall Gothic backdrop of arches and towers.

The wide main street running next to the centre has some imposing commercial buildings in a reasonably successful mixture of Gothic and modern styles, again using the



The magnificent 19th century palace at Schwerin

through lofty windows beside 120-foot brick pillars - the nave is the highest in east Germany and the fourth highest in the country - the atmosphere is an uplifting mix of simplicity and grandeur.

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brick, of course - is an eye-opener. So is the wonderfully serene interior of the Church of St Nicholas, partly restored with secular murals painted on a whitewashed background.

After a longish, relaxing ride across country roads, we reached Schwerin, with its magnificent 19th century palace. Built on an island in a small lake, it is an inspired confection of towers, turrets, and domes topped a rambling structure with a detailed, many-windowed facade. Some of the rooms have been beautifully restored, with inlaid floors, richly decorated ceilings, and exquisite furniture. The gardens are a treat, too.

By comparison, the rest of the town looked dreary. Clearly, Mecklenburg, has much to do.

Andrew Fisher

Brainstorming workout für die Germans

*The German language is inundated every year with more Anglicisms. Bruno von Loewenstein, deputy editor of *Die Welt*, has discovered that it is possible to write articles in German while using hardly any German words:*

UNSER Way of life im Media Business ist hart, da muss man ein tougher Kid sein. Morgens Warm-up und Stretching, dann ein Teller Corn Flakes und ein Soft Drink oder Darjeeling Tea, dann in das Office - und schon sind wir mit den Top-Leuten, meeting zum Thema: Sollen wir die Zeitung pushen mit Snob Appeal oder auf Low Profile achten?

Ich habe den Managern ganz cool und businesslike mein Paper präsentiert: Wir müssen News power und erst dann den Akzent auf Layout und Design legen, auf der Front Page die Headline mehr aufdrücken und die

Deadline beachten. Für jede Story brauchen wir ein starkes Lead. Das Editorial muss Glamour und Style haben, unsere Top Priority heißt: Action und Service.

Der Cartoon muss gut plaziert sein, die Korrespondenten müssen Features kaben, und sie müssen beim Handling ihrer Computer-Terminals fit sein. Viele Youngsters sagen, das Boom geht zu Ende, ein Crash kommt. Manche taten so, als seien wir total und müssen ein genuines Crisis Management starten statt business as usual.

No Problem, sagte ich, ich werde auch dem Coffee Break eine Marketing-Studie im meinem Studio anfertigen, dann machen wir einen Test, wie der Trend läuft. Unser Outfit ist Okay, der Cash Flow ist besser geworden, es gab einen Run auf unsere Aktien, nachdem die lange ziemlich down waren.

Noch funktioniert meine Pipeline zum Boss, noch habe ich einen Desk im Office. Dann hatten wir Happy

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GERMANY 18

Berlin's performing arts stand to lose from unification, writes Leslie Colitt

If finance be the food of art, pay on

CAN a united Berlin afford three opera houses, 27 theatres, six orchestras, 150 chamber music ensembles and three large museum complexes - not to speak of two zoos?

Past cold war rivalry between the two Berlins resulted in probably the most highly-subsidised performing arts in the world. When the money was wedged with talent, it sometimes produced excellence. West Berlin's Deutsche Oper received a hefty DM472m in subsidies this year, and is regarded as one of the world's leading opera houses. The Berlin Philharmonic, which will get DM235m in public money next year under its new permanent conductor, Claudio Abbado, ranks among the world's finest orchestras. But the lesser-known German State Opera and Comic Opera houses in east Berlin which, along with the theatres, were showered with money by the Communist state, are now queuing for western subsidies.

Mr Walter Momper, west Berlin's governing mayor, has promised to preserve the city's cultural diversity when he becomes mayor of all Berlin in December. This, however, will

require heavy subsidies from Bonn at a time when the resources of the federal government are severely strained by the economic reconstruction of east Germany.

Although west Berlin this year provided DM522m in subsidies for the opera, theatre and other cultural institutions, half the money came from Bonn in the form of aid to the west Berlin budget. The federal government granted an additional DM160m to subsidise museums for the former Prussian cultural treasures as well as cultural events in west Berlin, including festivals.

Bonn has agreed to finance the two eastern opera houses as well as the cultural Deutsches Theater and Kammeroper. The Berliner Ensemble and the symphony hall in the rebuilt Schauspielhaus until the end of next year. The city of Berlin, itself faced with enormous infrastructure and social investments, fervently hopes that after 1991 the federal government will continue to wave its financial wand over culture in greater Berlin. Mr Ulrich Zawatka, of west Berlin's cultural department, estimated the performing arts in

east Berlin will need as much as DM500m next year while west Berlin is scheduled to receive DM528m in cultural subsidies from Bonn.

One Berlin official, who wants to stay anonymous, says Mr Theo Waisel, finance minister, will be obliged to pay up if only to assuage the conscience of the federal government which is opposed to moving to Berlin.

Nobert wants to be merged or eliminated, and egos are vastly inflated in a city where theatre directors are used to getting money to burn, regardless of the size of audiences. Thus the Freie Volksbühne had a DM24.2m subsidy this year for an incisive repertory from which theatregoers stayed away. This year the nearly 100 established "free theatres" in west Berlin, which often play to packed houses and receive a more modest DM7.5m in support from the city.

Far from eschewing the taxpayer's money, the small theatrical groups want to get a larger share of the honeypot. The Freie Volksbühne is likely to merge with the more popular Volksbühne in the east, which is to be privatised along

with three other theatres in east Berlin including Friederstadt-Palast, Europe's largest musical revue theatre with a staff of nearly 800.

But at least until 1992, these groups will be taken care of by Bonn. Subsidies for private theatres in all Berlin are thus guaranteed to rise well above the DM24.2m provided alone in west Berlin this year.

State theatres in east and west Berlin have yet to realise that they are competing with each other for dwindling audiences. In east Berlin higher ticket prices and falling purchase powers have drastically cut the numbers of theatregoers. But instead of offering new plays this season, the theatres are outdoing themselves to refurbish German classics and Shakespeare. The Schiller Theater in the west and its counterpart, the Deutsches Theater in the east, have both mounted opulent productions of Goethe's Faust. And Heiner Müller, the enigmatic east German playwright, is produced everywhere.

The Berliner Ensemble in the east, a mecca of avant-garde theatre in the 1950s and 1960s, has sunk even

PROFILE: The Aalto Theatre

Coal, steel and culture

ESSEN's Aalto Theatre, named after the renowned Finnish architect Alvar Aalto, symbolises the fall and rebirth of this thriving metropolis in the heartland of the Ruhr.

Essen, straddling the midpoint of the coal and steel region, ranks as Germany's sixth largest city with 620,000 inhabitants.

Its former Grillo Theatre, named after the 19th century iron and steel magnate Friedrich Grillo, who donated the construction site, was badly damaged in the war-time bombing which devastated much of the city.

The theatre was rebuilt as a temporary solution, and the architectural competition to build a new one was launched in 1966. Aalto was given the contract, and what followed was nearly 30 years of planning vicissitudes accompanied by frequent political squabbling.

The DM140m building was finally opened in September 1988. The Grillo Theatre, meanwhile, was reopened last month as an independent theatre by the director Hans-Günter Heyne.

Aalto's prowess makes the Essen Theatre a masterpiece. It

ranks as Europe's best technically equipped stage after the new Bastille Opera in Paris. The building's harmonic proportions impressively document the architecture of the 1950s. The forms in white and marble of the entrance hall beckon the visitor towards the amphitheatre-like theatre with room for an audience of 1,125.

Since the war, Essen has literally risen from the ashes. It has had to weather a downturn in the coal industry, and more recently has started to put its industrial structure on to a new footing after the steel crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. As part of efforts to improve the Ruhr's grimy image, Essen has laid on a series of special cultural, scientific and sports events. The high point this year, the Second European Opera Festival, came as the city played host to the National Opera of Tiflis performing Prokofiev's Fiery Angel.

The theatre's current director is Professor Manfred Schmalz, who took over in 1986. He was the seventh in a string of appointees after the departure of Erich Schumacher, who left his mark between 1953 and 1974 with the so-called "Essen School".

Schmalz presides over five different sections of the house made up of opera, ballet and five in theatre, along with a programme of repeats. In addition, 12 concerts, song recitals evenings and guest performances are also offered.

Mr Schmalz's aim is to further the talents of young singers by preserving the characteristics of ensemble theatre.

The Essen ensemble needs for every rehearsal, enabling it to work together continuously.

Guest stars are an exception.

In addition to classical opera, the accent is on the



The foyer of Essen's showpiece Aalto Theatre, opened just more than two years ago. *Autay Antonov*

PROFILE: Television editor

The new view

FROM the big corner windows of Mr Klaus Bresser's office south of Mainz, the world looks a peaceful place. "I sometimes think it's a bit isolated out here," says the editor-in-chief of Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), the second German television channel, as he looks out from the office and production complex on to the rolling fields of the Rhineland-Palatinate state in the centre of western Germany.

Restful though it may be, the view from the eighth floor hardly represents the challenges and responsibilities facing German TV at a time when the excitement and turbulence of the run-up to unity between the two Germanys on October 3 are being replaced by the all too bleak reality of economic chaos and anxiety in the east as its people struggle to catch up with the west.

Mr Bresser, born in Berlin and now in his early 50s, has headed ZDF's news, current affairs, and sports coverage for more than two years. He has introduced a faster flowing news style, with more flexibility, quicker reactions to important news events, and a less deferential reporting approach to German politics. It is a style that was obviously well suited to the rapid and dramatic flow of news from East Germany and the rest of eastern Europe over the past year or so. However, TV now has the tricky job of describing and illuminating the difficult process of bringing together two parts of Germany which have developed very differently.

At the same time, it must avoid over-concentration on inner German affairs, or navel-gazing. "German TV has a huge task to fulfill, bigger than in the history of West Germany," says Mr Bresser.

ZDF was set up in the early 1960s by the states (Länder), which have now grown from 11

to 16 as a result of unification. "Both societies have been separated morally, not just geographically," he says. Thus TV has to act as a force for integration, not only showing the problems but also providing a forum for open discussion and dialogue - and helping to develop solutions and understanding. It is, he notes, far harder for the cameras to show the economic problems as they occur on the ground, such as rising unemployment and falling industrial and farm production, than it was to catch the mood on the streets when old systems were crumbling and new freedoms being grasped.

And for all its role in helping the wave of peaceful revolution to pick up speed in eastern Europe, TV cannot convey what life is really like in the west. Many East Germans have been able to compare their own drab, limited existences with life in the free, more varied and colourful West. TV was the only western product which could be freely consumed in East Germany." But it could not prepare people there for the faster, more profit-driven, and occasionally ruthlessly way of life in the free market. "East Germans have had huge difficulties in coping with daily life over here, with the pace of work and the emphasis on performance and efficiency." ZDF has employed some people from former East German TV, but Mr Bresser is emphatic that people in the east would be horrified if they saw the same faces that used to sport the old Stalinist propaganda from the screens. So it will be young, politically untainted and journalistically fresh talent that ZDF and other channels will be seeking as they extend their reporting and production networks eastwards.

The real and lasting extent of the influence from the east on German TV can hardly be gauged at present. Clearly, as with the rest of German life, political, economic, or social, it will be forces from what used to be known as West Germany that will predominate. Television in eastern Germany has adapted quickly under the inspiration of the revolution from the streets that led to the toppling of the old regime. But will the east catch up with western living standards, the paymasters and policymakers will be in the west.

Of course, the former East Germany also has other contri-

butions to make. On the entertainment side, there is a strong cabaret tradition in the east which could certainly help to make German TV less heavyweight and more inclined to amuse as well as to inform. Entertainment is not a strong point on the West German small screen. Peak viewing times are rich in old feature films, sometimes in black and white, about life in the Austrian mountains or harmless frolics in the Bavarian countryside.

However, West German TV has served up some real plums, as with the lengthy, beautifully directed, and very successful (in Germany and abroad) *Heimat* series about village life, for which the turbulent events of the 20th century served as a rich backdrop.

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Other parts of the press also had their difficulties. On the top floor of papers like the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ) or the social-liberal *Süddeutsche Zeitung* are very often editors born in Berlin or eastern Germany, with a collective mem-

THE MEDIA

Weak showing

NOBODY predicted the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. But some were more mistaken than others about future developments.

Those best in touch were neither the politicians, nor the famous German professors in political science, nor the think-tanks nor the journalists, but some writers like Mr Martin Walser, or a parliamentary backbencher from a Black Forest constituency, Mr Bernhard Friemann.

When he suggested in 1988 that the German question be put on the agenda of meetings between the super-powers, everyone laughed. Chancellor Kohl called Mr Friedman's "opposite nonsense".

Since November 10, 1989, the German press, like the other "opinion-makers", therefore, has had to come to terms with the new realities. The conservative Springer press had the shortest way to go, and papers like *Die Welt* and *Bild* were soon showing more black-and-gold than ever.

It must not be forgotten, however, that even the Springer newspapers made their peace with the second German state in August 1989. Only a few weeks before the mass exodus of East Germans through Hungary, the publishing group abandoned a rule which had been practised for decades - writing the initials DDR (German Democratic Republic) in inverted commas as a way of underlining the state's lack of legitimacy. In effect, the Springer press recognised the status quo just as it was starting to end.

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Jochen Thies

The writer is editor of Europe Archiv, the magazine of the German Society for Foreign Affairs

GERMANY 19

While reunification dominates the news, art and education issues are still high on the German agenda of public debate

Berthold Hütten: a man with an English passion

MR BERTHOLD HÜTTE, the head of the language department at the Gaesdonck boarding school, near the Dutch border, is a man with a mission.

Mr Hütten, one of the deputy headmasters at the school, presides with boundless energy over what must be one of the best-equipped and most exuberantly-run English language departments on the Continent. He has been trying for 18 months to raise official interest in Germany and Britain for funding a bilateral teachers' working group to boost co-operation between schools in the UK and Germany.

Reflecting linguistic problems and the difficulties of harmonising curricula and different educational systems, pupil exchanges between Britain and German schools are thin on the ground. Most links between educational establishments in the two countries occur within the framework of town-twinning partnerships.

Mr Hütten, together with a group of 40 high school teachers from Germany and Britain, thinks more needs to be done to put such collaboration on a firmer basis. But in his efforts to win backing from government or EC institutions for a formal teaching steering committee, to meet on a six-monthly basis, Mr Hütten has drawn a blank so far – even though the 1982 programme makes closer educational links vitally important.

The Gaesdonck has plenty to offer. Its oldest buildings dating from a 15th century Augustinian monastery, the school is set close to the town of Goch in the Lower Rhine region about 50 miles north-west of Düsseldorf. In previous years pupils needed their passports to fetch footballs kicked over the nearby border; as a result of relaxation of EC frontier rules, the balls can now be recovered from the Netherlands without formalities.

Financed by a Catholic founda-



Berthold Hütten: the Gaesdonck school needs more pupils

backed by the diocese of Münster – the Gaesdonck (meaning "goose hill") is a unique institution. The school started in 1849 after the Church succeeded in buying back the monastery from the state, into whose hands it passed through nationalisation under Napoleon in 1802. It stopped functioning twice – in 1873, as a result of Bismarck's anti-Catholic legislation under the so-called Kulturkampf and again in 1942, when it was turned into a military hospital.

By the end of the war, the buildings were almost completely destroyed by stray bombs dropped during the RAF's flight-path to the Ruhr. Today the school has 340 boarders aged 11 to 18 years old – all boys – well down from 560 in previous years. With a complement of 30 teachers, the school is now over-staffed – but the pupils cannot complain of lack of attention. The fees are relatively low – DM450 a month for the older boys, DM450 for the younger.

The reduction in numbers is explained by the general fall in the German birth rate, as well as by a drop in popularity of boarding schools. Unlike in Britain, private schools in Germany generally carry less prestige than those run by the state.

There are prayers three times a week and the core of the teaching staff comprises nine nuns.

The school has a particular reputation for foreign language tuition. It has a superbly equipped theatre with 700 seats, and during the coming winter season it is drawing on the talents of touring groups from three countries: the New York Drama Group (New

London, playing Macbeth; the American Drama Group (New York – Our Town); and the Theatre Marcaud (Paris – Le Petit Prince).

The Gaesdonck runs its own farm (including a bakery producing 20 sorts of bread) and makes its own sausages. Meals are taken in a variety of baronial dining rooms.

The school boasts a zoo breeding guanacos (the wild form of the domesticated llama), donkeys, goats and various types of fowl, and offers pupils sports ranging from sailing, hockey and tennis to judo, riding and swimming.

The library runs to 30,000 volumes, including a large collection from the Middle Ages.

Mr Hütten's pride and joy is the separate English library, set in a generously furnished annexe which looks like a polished drawing room of a stately home, and which has now grown to 4,600 books. The library's stock runs from a 1623 edition of the works of Shakespeare and a 1791 Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire to a copy of British government Documents on Foreign Policy and the writings of Tolkien, Rebecca West and C. S. Lewis.

Most of the books have been acquired by Mr Hütten over 10 years. "I am a good bargainer – I have had a lot of luck," he says. The collection symbolises an educational bridge between Britain and Germany. Now all the school needs is a few more British pupils who want an unusual immersion – complete with donkeys and nuns – into the varied ways of German life.

David Marsh

There's business in benevolence

BUSINESS patronage of the arts in Germany is taking on ever-growing importance. Although precise figures are hard to come by, estimates range between DM260m and DM350m a year. Compared with public sector support running at around DM80m a year, this is just enough to keep one or two opera houses going. But the subject of sponsorship in the arts is very much on the public mind. Hardly a month goes by without some new book or article or conference on the subject.

Motives are always called into question. Although some bigger corporations are trying to move away from the classic image of *Mäzen*, the patron as a benevolent individual, others see this as part of the public function of the entrepreneur. In 1987 a survey among German companies involved in art patronage found that 74 per cent claimed "social responsibility" as the prime motive for their activities.

This may be true, but there can be no doubt that their public support for the arts is closely tied up with new concepts in advertising, product promotion and corporate identity. It comes as no surprise to learn, in a European Business School study of 1988, that patronage money is drawn largely from the advertising and PR budgets.

Private and company-led involvement in the arts in Germany has taken on a significance out of proportion to the limited funds being invested. Ms Karin Fohrbeck, an expert in this field, has shown how a multiplicity of initiatives, often backed by individuals with an intensely personal interest, creates a cultural scene of rich diversity (*Renaissance der Mäzen?*, DuMont 1990).

Funds can be employed, she says, more flexibly than those of the public purse, and personal relationships can blossom.

She also notes how the art world has learnt to turn the self-interest of sponsors to their own advantage, by allowing them ever-greater benefits in return for substantial grants.

However, advertising consultants have begun to call for a more cautious approach to art patronage. Companies are having to learn that, unlike in sports promotions, short-term effects materialise rarely, if ever.

Inensitive handling of arts patronage can actually reverberate against the sponsor. Such activities need careful planning and should be integrated into the long-term strategy of a company, urges a leading advertising house in its latest edition. Many people are beginning to realise that sponsoring is just another form of advertising.

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quarters in Munich and to the stylish performance of its cars.

Daimler-Benz in Stuttgart has now spread its wings to aerospace and other areas of high technology. It boasts an "integrated concept of cultural patronage" on all areas of the arts.

The arts, too, are discovering the potential of art patronage in a big way.

The Deutsche Bank is widely known for its comprehensive collection of German contemporary paintings even though access to them at the bank's two tower blocks in Frankfurt is denied to all but employees and guests.

A number of companies have discovered the awards system as a relatively inexpensive means to the company name to a cultural image and earn press coverage. Another interesting variant of arts patronage is by way of company foundations, which use the interest from a one-off capital investment for cultural purposes.

German-based companies of international significance can be expected to play an increasing role in arts sponsorship abroad. However, given foreign worries about possible German dominance in Europe, prospective sponsors will have to tread carefully.

Günter Kowsa

David Goodhart and Phillip Halliday look at predictions about supremacy in sport

Marriage built on promises

THE united Germany may shrink from superpower status in politics but in sport it will have no such inhibition. In athletics commentators predict that no country, except the US, will be able to stay in touch with Germany's medal-winning potential.

In football the former West Germany is world champion and the addition of east Germany can hardly weaken it. In rowing, on the other hand, unification raises doubts.

However, in athletics, the once mighty East German athletes, who towered over their West German colleagues in most events, have to learn to adapt to a new system which is bound to be disruptive in the short term.

The east German athletes, a privileged élite in the old regime, are training with their west German counterparts but some of them are finding it

difficult to fit into the system. Many have been separated from their old coaches, deemed too political to be taken on by the all-German athletics association, and all but the very best, such as the sprinter Katrin Krabbe, are finding it tough to get sponsors. The Bonn government is helping out with DM100m.

Even in the longer term the break-up of the extraordinary world of East German athletics, which elevated a country of 17m people to the level of the US and the Soviet Union, may mean fewer superstars. So the all-German Olympic team of 1992 may turn out to be rather less than the sum of its parts in 1988.

In football, East Germany slumped in the 1980s after two famous victories against West Germany and in the Olympics in the 1970s. East German league football has

collapsed this season, many of the best players have been bought by west German clubs and the crowds are down by 50 per cent. Only two east German sides are being allowed into west Germany's First Division and six into the Second Division.

The future for the combined rowing teams is unclear. Rowing is one of the main sports in Germany, where cricket and rugby are not played.

The separate countries had outstanding records since the 1960s. East Germany, for example, won seven titles out of 22 events in last year's world championships. But their successes were achieved with different systems and sporting philosophies and it will be a difficult task to combine the rowing infrastructures.

The east German set-up was state controlled through a network of some 200 professional coaches. The recruitment of young athletes, so important to achieve international success, was controlled by the state.

West Germany, on the other hand, relied on its tradition of powerful clubs, likened to private navies, with their business backing. There was no monolithic organisation and the top coaches, often unpaid, tended to congregate around the big clubs. There was very little infrastructure for the recruitment of juniors.

In both systems a common theme was the high drive for achievement, but this is no basis for a successful marriage. It is feared that youngsters in the east will turn to other things. More worrying, East German coaches are trying to find work in other countries as the infrastructure collapses through lack of (state) funding.



Katrin Krabbe: one of the few to find sponsorship

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GERMANY 20

The troop withdrawals will provide economic shocks for many German towns

Peace dividends can be expensive

AFTER 45 years of preparation and sometimes noisy sabre-rattling in central Europe, the troops are heading home. While the generals in Nato and the Warsaw Pact prepared for the worst, the whole framework around them changed for the better.

The US has about 250,000 of the total of 400,000 allied troops still stationed in Germany. So far, some 150,000 allied troops are to be pulled out of western Germany, with the US sending 30,000 soldiers and 10,000 aircraft home in the next year. Some 60,000 US troops are to leave by 1997.

The pull-out, says Mr Dick Cheney, US defence secretary, is the response "to changing security requirements and declining defence budgets." And with the way things look in the US Congress, the latter could shrink even more than Mr Cheney planned.

The Soviet Union also plans to get out of east Germany - a move encouraged by DM15bn of West German aid, including a DM5bn credit. Back on the front line of what was once the Cold War, Soviet troops are set to leave the cities they have been sent to test German civilians in exchange for DMarks.

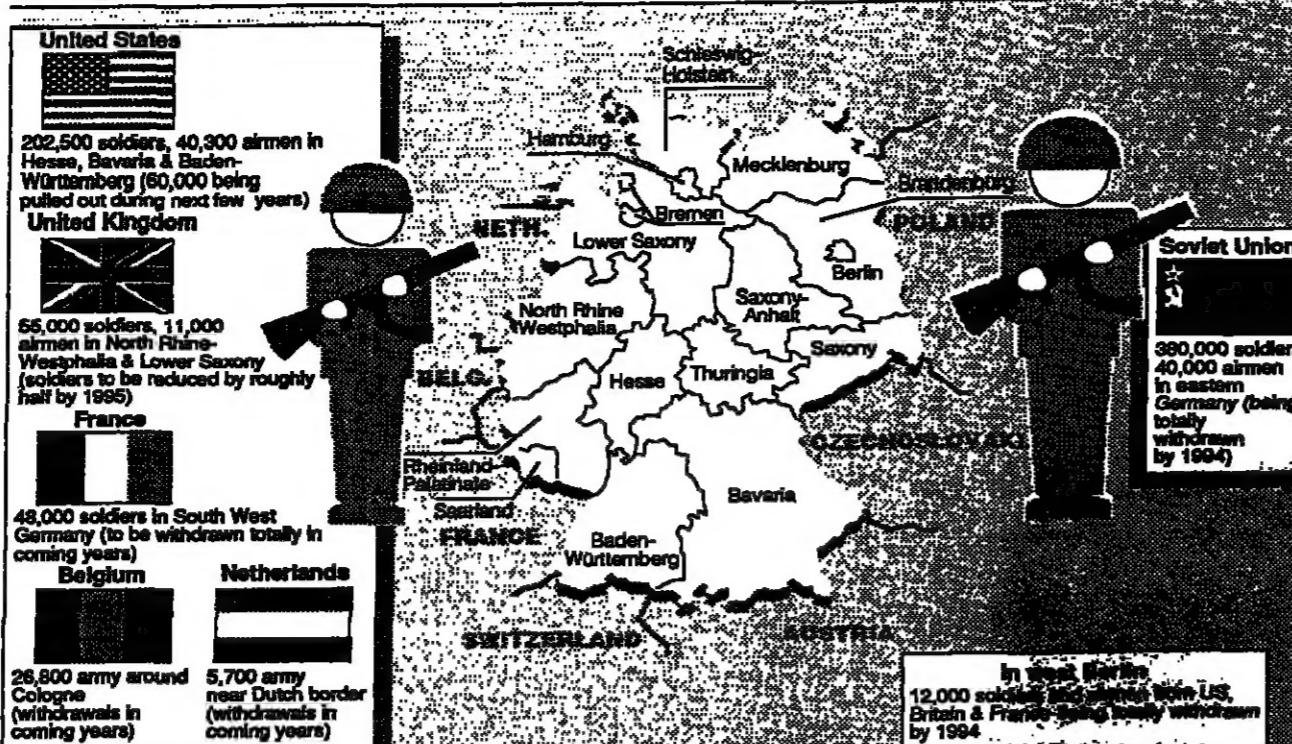
The military pull-out will also result in economic shocks for many towns in Germany. An estimated DM12bn (£4bn) pours into the west German economy each year from US military spending for consumption, rents and services. That provides work directly and indirectly for almost 170,000 Germans, says a US army spokesman.

Peacetime armies tend to bring along their wives, children and pets. Used car lots in Kaiserslautern, known as "E-Town" to generations of GIs, display big signs reading "Easy Financing" and "Low Down Payment," but German language signs may be in the future.

The smaller towns, such as Bad Tölz in southern Bavaria, will suffer most once the local barracks close.

The shops specialising in

Foreign troops (ground and air forces) on German soil



Some 150,000 allied troops are to be pulled out of western Germany

out will hurt some, most German politicians see it as an opportunity to acquire new land for housing and parks in the heart of some cities. But the West German government is still pressuring Chancellor Helmut Kohl to help get the US Army's V Corps headquarters out of the heart of Frankfurt.

cowboy boots, jeans jackets and ornate beer mugs might want to start thinking about a new clientele.

If the American troop pull-

tryed to preserve something for those US troops and officers not going home immediately.

Several barracks in both Augsburg and Fürth are to

close, but the US decided to keep its golf courses and clubs open in each of the Bavarian cities. Obviously, some military planners see no sense in making Germany a hardship tour.

There is a Catch-22 to all

these plans. The troop pull-outs hinge on the successful

conclusion of an agreement on conventional forces in Europe by the end of this year.

But the Warsaw Pact is still haggling among its suddenly more democratic members.

The Nato-Warsaw Pact agreement lets each side keep 20,000 tanks in Europe. As of mid-October, the other five Warsaw Pact members strongly oppose letting the Soviet keep 15,000 of their pact's tanks.

The Soviet Union will still have to remove this level suggested a Czechoslovak disarmament official.

With military planners fighting among themselves about how many weapons to cut and which barracks to close, the times have changed indeed.

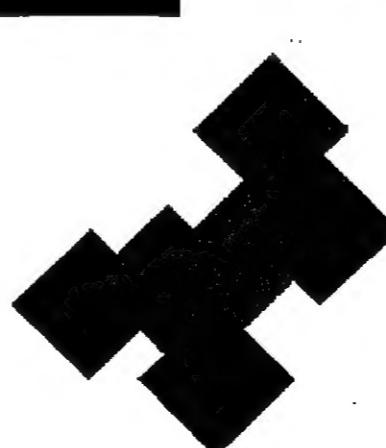
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POLITICS

Divided over unity

THE YEAR of unity has coincided with an election year in Germany. That has made consensus between the main parties a rarity in spite of the fact that differences over unity have been of tone rather than substance.

But with Chancellor Helmut Kohl's centre-right coalition poised to win a crushing victory in the December 3 all-German election, an all-party consensus will soon become superfluous. It is only the struggling Social Democrats who talk about the need for a "grand coalition" of the main parties to deal with the unique challenge of integrating the former East Germany.

That the centre-right coalition of Christian Democrats/Christian Social Union and Free Democrats would reap a "unity dividend" seemed self-evident to some people when the unity process began in earnest.

The argument was simple: government's tend to benefit from momentous events, as long as they manage them competently, and the conservative parties of the centre-right government would find the new national issue easier to handle than the Social Democratic opposition. So it has turned out, but only after a long delayed reaction. At the turn of the year, when it was still not clear how quickly unity would come, the government coalition continued to languish in the polls and the possibility of a red-green coalition in Bonn remained real. The SPD continued to win elections in West Germany and seemed poised to emerge as the strongest party in the newly democratic East Germany.

It was this that Chancellor Kohl's refusal to call an all-party "round-table" to guide the unity process seemed unstatesman-like. But the gamble has paid off, thanks to his almost faultless, albeit sometimes brutal, management of unity. In November, he set the first signpost to unity with his 10-point plan, which at the time put a few Allied noses out of joint, but now looks rather conservative, envisaging unity in the distant future.

According to one close adviser it was his visit to East Germany towards the end of December that persuaded him the country had given up the will to live as an independent entity and that serious breakdown could ensue - largely thanks to the continuing exodus of east German citizens - unless full unity was pushed through quickly.

In his boldest move, he decided, against the advice of most economic experts, to press for early monetary and economic union in February.

The Chancellor's famous populist instincts, unlike those of his challengers Mr Oskar Lafontaine, seemed to be working in East Germany. Critics complained that he was painting a gloomy picture of collapse and was making promises of wealth and security to east Germans that could not be quickly fulfilled.

The critics were often right, but in those early months of 1990 he - and the D-Mark - had become the symbol of hope for East Germany. He grasped

Politics in German Lander		
Land	Largest party last state election	Seats in Bundestag (upper house)
Hessen-North Rhine-Westphalia	CDU	7
Bavaria	CSU	7
Berlin	SPD	5
Brandenburg	SPD	4
Bremen	SPD	3
Hamburg	SPD	3
Hesse	CDU	8
N. Rhine-Westphalia	SPD	7
Lower Saxony	CDU	4
Meclemburg	CDU	5
Rhineland-Palatinate	SPD	3
Saar	CDU	5
Saxony	CDU	4
Saxony-Anhalt	SPD	4
Schleswig-Holstein	CDU	4
Thuringia	CDU	4

that Mr Lafontaine insists that early monetary union was a mistake - which ignores the mass emigration from east Germany which had to be stemmed. Few people in Germany blame the Bonn government for the economic mess in east Germany. The CDU's image as the party of economic competence and national pride is likely to keep it supreme in the five east German states for a generation.

The inheritance of the political machine and personnel of a "block" party from the old regime had helped the CDU in east Germany and the SPD's attempt to paint it as a fellow-traveller has not worked. But it remains a moot point how far the east German wings of the main parties will have to shift their character. East Germany's short-lived democratic political culture was rather homogeneous and based on a single issue. It is widely assumed that the absorption of the protestant east-CDU will encourage the liberal wing of the German CDU.

The SPD were still ahead of the CDU/CSU in the West German polls and their criticism of the government's rush to unity was generally well received. In West Germany many people seemed more concerned with establishing an eco-friendly system, a large EU concern, than trying to pull out East Germany.

Whether they intended to or not the SPD appealed to an "I'm slightly Jack" feeling in West Germany which allowed Chancellor Kohl to claim the moral high-ground. In spite of a healthy West German economy the SPD's more qualified enthusiasm for unity went on winning them votes. They held the states of Saarland and North Rhine-Westphalia, and won Lower Saxony, giving them control of the Bundesrat, the upper house of parliament, in May.

Thanks in part to tactical errors by Mr Lafontaine, who was too negative about unity long after most West Germans had accepted it as inevitable, the SPD began slipping in the opinion polls in June. They are now only three of four points behind the CDU/CSU in West Germany but combined with their continuing weakness in east Germany there seems no way they can catch up. The post-nationalist, pro-ecology, Zed-Green politics of the SPD young generation, personified by Mr Lafontaine, has been eclipsed by unity, and could remain so for up to 10 years according to some analysts.

The party has had no clear strategy on unity that differentiates it from the Chancellor beyond calling for higher taxes and criticising the failure to establish the proper grounds for economic reconstruction in east Germany. The latter might have been a vote-winner but for the fact

David Goodhart

PROFILE: Manfred Stolpe

Bipartisan approach

NEWLY-ELECTED prime minister of Brandenburg, Mr Manfred Stolpe heads a state which appears to be becoming the most progressive of the five new east German Lander.

Brandenburg, the largest east German state in the area, has the advantage of surrounding Berlin. In spite of the general difficulties of economic recovery Brandenburg can be expected to benefit more quickly than any upturn, than more remote areas.

As the lone Social Democrat among the five new Christian Democratic Lander chiefs, Mr Stolpe will need his powers of persuasion to obtain economic aid for his Land from the ruling Christian Democrats in Bonn. But even before the election, Mr Stolpe's bipartisan approach threw his CDU rival in Brandenburg off balance. He noted after a meeting with Chancellor Kohl that the German leader understood the problems of the region and the need for extraordinary measures to prevent mass unemployment. This apparent identity of interests may well have saved Mr Stolpe from suffering the fate of the PDS candidate in the other Lander.

Mr Stolpe, 54, entered the political ring last spring when he joined the SPD. But his political acumen stems from his legal background and service as the senior Protestant Church layman responsible for relations with the former communist regime. He has been consistorial president of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church since 1982 and, in later years,



Stolpe legal background

contributed to the growing human rights movement which worked under church protection.

He became a leading non-communist expert on the ruling politburo, frequently meeting Mr Erich Honecker on church matters. Mr Stolpe disclosed recently that many senior former party officials had turned to the church for "spiritual" help after being ostracised by the population. An analysis of the Lander election results showed that more than 10 per cent of those who previously voted for the PDS, the successor to the Communist Party, cast their ballots for Mr Stolpe.

His ties as a student with the Protestant Church's academy were grounds for the party to refuse him the right to a job. He took the church's advice and did advanced legal studies in West Berlin, where he gained practical experience. When the Berlin Wall was built in August 1961, Mr Stolpe returned to East Berlin, a community with trade skills had left the plant to set themselves up as private tradesmen. The reply was none, a reflection of the widespread passivity of east Germany.

Mr Stolpe noted critically that companies from Japan and Italy had shown more interest in investing in Brandenburg than west German companies. The latter were waiting until east German companies had collapsed and could be picked up cheaply, he said, echoing a frequent charge. He appealed to foreign investors to take a close look at Brandenburg, on the doorstep of Berlin.

The high-level contacts he

GERMANY 21

Günter Kowa considers Erfurt's renaissance

Historic town reborn



St. Aegidii Church in Erfurt's Wenige market square

ERFURT is one of the historic towns in eastern Germany which can be fairly certain of a great rediscovery and renaissance. The question is - how long will it take?

It seems hardly imaginable that the people of Erfurt will be in a mood to celebrate in the next couple of years. The planned festivities in 1992 for the 1200th anniversary of the city's foundation may well come too soon. Forty years of communism and isolation have left their depressing mark on the houses, the shops and the faces of the people who still seem barely able to cope with the main problem: the sudden arrival of western lifestyles.

Whatever the short term problems, in the long term Erfurt has great chances. Its visual appeal stems from the Middle Ages, which contributed the soaring lines of the gothic cathedral perched high on a hill, flanked and contrasted by the plainer shapes of the romanesque city church.

The office of the mayor, Mr Manfred Ruge, elected this summer, is besieged by prospective investors. He points to the possible recovery of Thuringia's traditional craft, textile and ceramics industries. Erfurt would offer the ideal market and local commerce could flourish. "For every house in the town centre we have two or three people offering to buy, open shops or restaurants. The biggest obstacle, which we will have to overcome soon, is the unresolved problem of property ownership."

The mayor does his best to spread a

message of optimism. He knows that his city may have a better starting position than many others in east Germany. But the coffers are empty, the task is enormous, most people worry about their jobs and their pensions. Erfurt's rise from the ashes will only occur in the wider framework of the economic recovery of east Germany, for which the true bill has yet

Democrats, but in August last year, at great personal risk, he convened clandestine opposition meetings. Erfurt also saw the first anti-Stasi riots when a crowd stormed the headquarters of the secret police, "well aware that someone might pull out a gun and shoot", says the newly-appointed city hall press officer, who was among the rebels.

Older citizens still remember the day in 1970 when Mr Willy Brandt, during his meeting with Mr Willi Stoph, the East German prime minister, appeared at a front balcony of the Hotel Erfurter Hof. Outside on the square a silent throng had gathered and erupted into a spontaneous cheer, despite heavy police vigilance.

Mr Brandt tried the same gesture again during February's East German election campaign but was easily upset by Chancellor Kohl giving a speech nearby.

Even before Erfurt's 1200 year celebrations another of its long lost legacies should be re-established and on its way to success: the university, founded 600 years ago and closed since 1912. Unlike most other eastern German institutions of higher learn-

ing, it is untouched by the burden of 40 years of party indoctrination and will instead link up to an almost mythical past, for Erfurt University was one of the centres of Renaissance humanism in Germany.

A painting in the staircase of the town hall shows the fabled incident in the 16th century when Dr Faustus is said to have lectured students on Greek mythology and to have conjured up the spectre of the homeric giant Cyclops in front of his petrified audience.

Today, Erfurt's architectural heritage lies semi-deserted, looking shabby and spent, apart from a few alibi objects which were given face-lifts to demonstrate an otherwise non-existent reverence of the communist past.

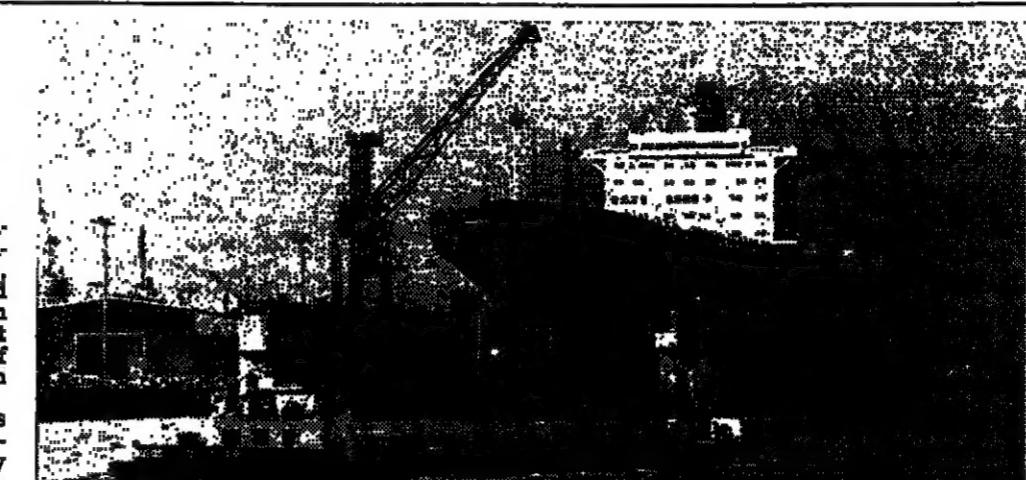
The director of the local Historic Buildings Department pulls out a yellowed typewritten "list book" of about 200 historical buildings which was given the official stamp of approval; meanwhile we had to know our mouths shut about a more realistic earlier document which numbered over 1,200 objects.

To save Renaissance facades, timber-framed structures, picturesque

courtyards and unbroken rows of gabled houses from the collapse which seems imminent, building conservationists enter a race against time. Decades of neglect, caused not least by economic rents, cannot be reversed overnight. What many fear is the mere threat of western-style speculation. Erfurt has already had a foretaste, when officials discovered too late that a developer had proposed up the facade of a timber-framed house while demolishing everything behind.

Not that Erfurt's architectural heritage did not attract generous financial and material support from the west. The West German states of Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate, the City of Mainz (whose archbishop governed Erfurt in the middle ages) and a number of private institutions and architects have opened offices, started to train local craftsmen and building contractors and are helping to rescue some of the most badly deteriorated buildings by fixing roofs, windows and doors.

But that is a far cry from the concerted intervention which will be necessary to restore Erfurt to its former glory. Much attention has focused on the St. Andrew's quarter, an appealing patchwork of modest 19th century craftsmen's dwellings long earmarked for road clearance. Lack of funds led to a piecemeal destruction, and it will now require a sensitive and costly combination of restoration and reconstruction.



Hamburg has been given an extra lift, writes Andrew Fisher

Port city eyes the future

IT SEEKS hard to imagine now that Germany is unified, but Hamburg, one of the country's most prosperous and elegant cities, used to be a mere 30 miles from the old border with East Germany. For 40 years, the port city was cut off from what is now the new eastern state of Mecklenburg; its traditional hinterland was hidden behind the Iron Curtain.

With 1.8m people, Hamburg is Germany's second biggest city (after Berlin) and ranks with Munich as one of the most attractive. Politicians and businessmen have high hopes that events in Europe will give Hamburg an extra lift. "Hamburg has been put back in the centre of northern Europe", says Mr Hans-Jakob Kruse, chief executive of the Hamburg Lloyd shipping and travel company. After several years in which the city has swept away much of its old heavy industry and striven to attract new technology and service compa-

nies in the 1980s, the opening of the border to the east could hardly have come at a more opportune time.

Not that it suffered through being so close to one of eastern Europe's most rigidly communist states. With its lakes, some impressive shopping centres, and residential areas which reek of wealth, Hamburg is an extremely pleasant place in which to live, though it also contains the garish Reeperbahn red light district.

The city has a thriving port, is home to a host of banks and insurance companies, and has developed as an advertising and media centre, with best-selling weeklies like Der Spiegel and Stern magazines, and the heavyweight Die Zeit, published in the city.

All of this makes Hamburg a promoter's delight, with clichés in abundance. Media Metropolis, Gateway to the World, Turntable of Europe - the city has adopted all of

these. Now that the barriers are down and eastern European countries are struggling to adapt to the free market, some of them roll more easily off the tongue. "We called ourselves the Gateway to eastern Europe", adds Mr Kruse. "Now, we really are."

Of course, Hamburg is not the only place which stands to benefit from unification. Berlin could act as magnet for financial, media, and service activities, drawing some of these away from Hamburg.

"Some new investments in the financial sector could go to Berlin", reckons Mr Ulrich Stipek, chief economist of Hamburg's Vereins und Westbank. "Berlin could take on the function of a regional financial centre for north Germany."

That, however, would still leave Hamburg with plenty of opportunities. "The city will get back its old function as a bridge to overseas markets", says Mr Stipek. Many foreign

companies are already in Hamburg because of its port facilities and trading services, enabling them to import and assemble goods for distribution in Europe. Moreover, the port will benefit from the loss of Rostock's status as the main East German port and communications. Hamburg will certainly need a big improvement in transport links, within the city and to the east, especially Berlin. Its airport is already being extended. The opening of the border with the east is likely to speed up some of Hamburg's infrastructural projects, says Mr Claus Mittelbach, a director of the city's economic department. "There is now pressure for faster action."

In the last few years, Hamburg's economy has grown at a similar rate to the rest of West Germany. Now, it could expand faster than the rest of the country, although economists are divided as to the strength of the impulses it will derive from the opening up of the east. Certainly, many Hamburg companies and traders have benefited from the new demand from long deprived consumers across the old bor-

der. Food and drink firms have done especially well. "The markets in eastern Europe need everything - infrastructure, capital goods, consumer goods, industries", says Mr Claus Müller, general manager of Hamburg's economic promotion office. But for the international concerns in a position to provide these, he asserts that Hamburg is a better base than, say Leningrad or Moscow. "What we are saying

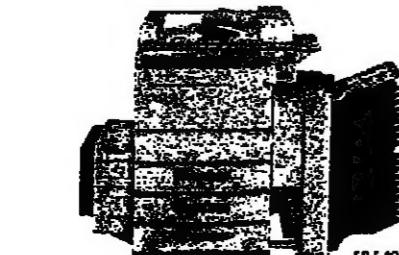
is 'come to Hamburg and build up management bases to prepare for the next 10 years in eastern Europe'." At present, he estimates, there is nearly DM20bn worth of office projects under construction or in the planning stage in the city. Some are strikingly modern, with British, American and other investors heavily involved. Around 80 non-German companies have set up in the last four years in Hamburg, where direct foreign investment totals DM15bn. The proportion of service activities in the city's economy exceeds 70 per cent, far higher than the national average.

But while prospects look rosy, there could be a darker side. No-one knows how long it will take for the east German economy to recover. A heavy outflow of discontented citizens from the east could swamp Hamburg. "The economy of east Germany has to be made to work, or the mixture will become explosive", says Mr Evert van Hooven, a director of Deutsche Bank. If the costly effort is successful, he feels, Hamburg as the start of a Baltic region, stretching through Helsinki to Leningrad

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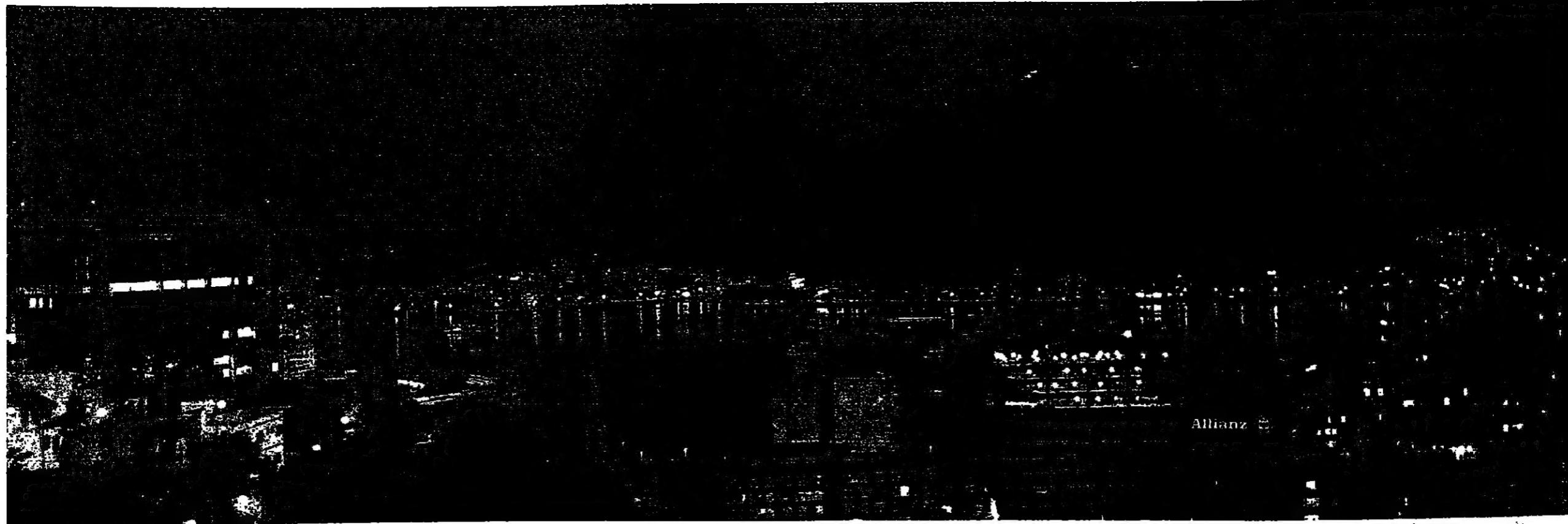


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